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The Nation

Vol. CVII NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1918 No. 2787

The Week

THE news from Germany during the past week has been so scanty, and in some important respects so contradictory, as to suggest either that press dispatches are still heavily censored, or else that political and social conditions are so disordered as to make comprehensive and impartial reporting impossible. The surrender of the German navy to the British has been carried out as planned. If the statements of Captain Persius and others are to be believed, the strength of the fleet has all along been overrated, and British reports of the condition of some of the vessels which have been turned over certainly suggest a great decline in efficiency. The German troops on the western front are being rapidly demobilized and returned to their homes, and American and Allied troops are occupying the places which the Germans are leaving. Disorder on the part of the soldiers is reported from a number of points, but on the whole demobilization appears to be proceeding in an orderly fashion. The political situation, on the other hand, is confused and precarious, and the exact status at the moment of any governmental official or institution would be difficult to define. The revolution has made heavy inroads upon the members of reigning houses, no less than 277 being reported to have resigned. The six People's Commissioners, who for a time appeared to be the supreme political authority, seem to be opposed with increasing vigor by the Executive Committee of the Central Soldiers' and Workmen's Council, which claims that the Commissioners, instead of constituting a virtually independent body, are in reality subject to the Council. As the Council represents the independent or radical Socialist sentiment from which Bolshevism naturally draws its chief support, while Ebert, Haase, and their associates represent the more conservative majority Socialists, the line of division is obviously fundamental. The retirement of Scheidemann from the Government has further strengthened the radicals. While the revolution thus far appears to have developed principally in the west, and serious disorders have been few, the evidence seems to point to a wide spread of Bolshevist sentiment and increasing interest in the Soviet form of Government. One cannot but hope, with Herr Ebert, that weakness and disorder may not become so great as to invite military interference by the Allies and the United States.

SUCH scanty driblets of authentic news as are allowed to trickle through from Russia continue to indicate the increasingly strong position of the Bolshevist Government. Thus Sunday's London dispatches state, on the authority of a British business man who "escaped" from Petrograd early in November, that the Bolshevist strength in Petrograd and Moscow has been increasing, "largely because many Russian liberals believe that they must choose between the Bolsheviki and the extreme reactionaries, as none of the faction leaders in the centre show strength." Evidently military intervention is having its normal effect in rallying all classes to the support of the existing Government. Gorky's adhesion, after a long period in opposition, had been earlier announced, and many others are said to be following his example. The Commune (presumably of Moscow or Petrograd), "in spite of the widespread desolation," is supporting the national opera, the ballet, and the theatres, giving free performances to soldiers, sailors, and school children. Meanwhile Prince Lvoff declares from Washington that "it has become much more difficult to struggle against the Bolsheviki." The *World's* report of the Lvoff interview declares that the State Department has received "a dispatch from Stockholm stating that Swedish newspapers are publishing stories to the effect that a new reign of Bolshevik terror has broken out in Petrograd and that 500 former officers are being massacred." This, we are informed, presumably deals with a phase of the general slaughter scheduled for November 10. According to unnamed Swedish newspapers, 500 former officers "are being massacred" on November 23 as a phase of the general massacre of November 10 (which developed into a release of political prisoners instead)—and this passes for news and receives "scare" headlines in our press!

WE cannot but hope that Mr. Creel's statement about the censorship, printed in the International Relations section of this issue, means all that it seems to mean on its face, and that reports of the proceedings of the peace conference, so far as the United States is concerned, will be as full and free as the newspapers choose to make them. If news of importance is withheld now, the public will perhaps at least know whom not to blame. Unfortunately, Mr. Creel's statement, frank and unqualified as it is, comes right on the heels of the taking over of the cables by the Government and their assignment to the care of Mr. Burleson. The seizure of the cables at this late day, when the war is over, Germany beaten, and the necessity of Government supervision no longer apparent, is only to be explained, one would think, on the assumption of so complete a breakdown of cable service under private management as to make Government interference imperative. It is true that the cable companies were temporarily swamped with business immediately following the conclusion of the armistice, and that the rival companies are charged with failure to coöperate with each other in emergencies; but if there be sufficient evidence to show conclusively that Government control was necessary, it has not been produced. Mr. Burleson's attitude toward the press has certainly been such as to lend color to the charge that the seizure of the cables at this time was intended to give the Government complete control of newspaper cable service during the peace conference; and while Mr. Creel's statement is explicit, suspicion will not down. Whatever the reasons for Mr. Wilson's action, the fact remains that the only news that will reach this country by American cables from any part of the world, whether about the peace conference or about anything else, will have to come by cables which are controlled entirely by the Post Office Department. As all non-American cables are also Government-controlled, the prospect of learning the truth about what is going on is certainly not enhanced.

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SATURDAY'S announcement that the total American casualties in France aggregate no less than 252,157 comes as a shock. Three months ago, the War Department admitted that it was not listing the slightly wounded and said that up to that time there were only twenty thousand such cases. The newspapers of the country paid no attention to this and continued to carry as the grand total only the figures obtainable from the casualty lists actually published. Thus, on Saturday morning the New York *Times* announced that the entire losses were 87,321, approximately one-third of the actual figures. The Administration will have to do a good deal of explaining away to remove the unfavorable impression given by these latest statistics. Why should the American public have been so deceived? In England they have given out accurate statistics from the beginning, including those gassed and slightly wounded. The discrepancy on this side of the water cannot be explained by the omission of the slightly wounded or by the excuse that the casualty lists are six weeks behindhand. There cannot have been such heavy losses in the last two months as to run the totals up so enormously. On its face, it looks as if there had been a deliberate deceiving of the public. If this has indeed been the case with the casualty lists, in what other directions may we not look for revelations that essential facts have been suppressed?

THE advocates of universal military service die hard, according to Washington dispatches. They are still insisting that we shall adopt this Prussian system just when Prussia is giving it up and falling to pieces, and without waiting to see whether there shall be disarmament at the peace conference. Its Republican advocates, like Congressmen Kahn and Fess, state that if the Wilson Administration does not adopt it, the Republicans will vote for the system the minute they come into power on March fourth next. They take counsel of their hopes and desires; there will be a President's veto to reckon with, and the control of the Senate will rest with Borah, Gronna, La Follette, and others who are utterly opposed to Prussianizing America in this way. Moreover, the jubilation reported from every camp at the news that men are to be released at once and returned home, does not bear out the view of our militarists that our conscripts have been so delighted with army life as to be willing to have the burden of universal service clamped down upon us all. How differently things are going in England! There, the Minister of Public Education having assured labor that there will never be military drill introduced into the schools of England, the new Education Act shows that he spoke by the book. Mr. Asquith in his latest speech, on November 19, demands the immediate ending of compulsory military service. Lloyd George and Mr. Asquith both have said that England was fighting to put an end to compulsory military service the world over, and the British Labor party, as well as the Liberal party, is utterly opposed to it. Under these circumstances, shall the United States become a menace to world peace by adopting the most hateful custom of the Hohenzollern?

THE intolerance born of the war is directing itself, just as was to be expected, against radical economic and political doctrines. On the basis of the incident mentioned in our columns last week, Alderman Kenneally has introduced in the Board of Aldermen of New York an ordinance designed to prohibit the display of the red flag in any parade or public gathering. If the present spirit continues to prevail, we are not unlikely to be visited by an epidemic of similar attempts at suppression. Yet how perverse and foolish is such action! The New York Socialists are accused of no disturbance and no infringement of law; their procession was quiet and orderly; they carried American flags with the flag of their particular cause. But because they were illegally attacked by soldiers, it is proposed not to punish the offenders, but to deprive the Socialists of the right they have always had to display their own banner alongside the Stars and Stripes. This is strange justice, and stranger common sense. Will men never learn the inexpediency of mere suppression? At a hearing on the red-flag measure, Norman Thomas put the whole case in a nutshell: "You will never avoid trouble by giving the police power to deprive men of their natural rights. You will give thousands of people a sense of grievance, and one ounce of grievance is worth tons of oratory in stirring up discontent and unrest." The Socialists, properly enough, are protesting violently against the proposed enactment. All history shows that when discontent and unrest are driven underground they break out in ugly forms. We trust that we in the United States are not about to emulate the example of Bismarck and Plehve.

ANOTHER ugly manifestation of our present intolerance of dissent occurred on Monday evening at the close of the Socialist meeting held in behalf of Tom Mooney at Madison Square Garden. A crowd of soldiers and sailors, rather better organized than a mob, but with a highly-developed mob spirit, formed in the street and attacked with sticks and bare fists the people as they poured from the meeting. Red flags were not in evidence, but anything red served as an object of assault. Men's red neckties and women's red ribbons and hats were torn off and ripped to pieces. Individuals were attacked by groups of soldiers and sailors, five or six to one, and beaten to the ground. From several blocks away screams of women were heard. An incident of this sort occurring in Imperial Germany would have been told and retold in all the papers of the world. It was military brutality at its worst, using the power of its position to terrorize unoffending men and women. The police tried to keep order, but, as the New York *Times* reported, they were "unwilling to use their clubs on men in uniform." That this type of outbreak is more than local is indicated by the situation in Minneapolis, where State troops and soldiers are reported to have broken up meetings and parades and torn down signs demanding the release of political prisoners.

THE Senate does well to extend its investigation of the activities of the brewers to a general inquiry into German propaganda in this country. Its committee will hear much that is ridiculous, but it ought to bring out all the facts in the case. It should, however, clearly draw the line between legitimate activities on behalf of peace between the two countries prior to our entrance into the war and the underhanded and despicable propaganda of German governmental agents who committed or encouraged crimes and sought illegitimately to hamper the business men of the United States who were supplying materials to the Allies. Such facts as the Senators brought out about the brewers are illuminating but not surprising. Like other large business interests, the brewers have organized in their own in-

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terests and have instituted publicity campaigns in their own behalf and against prohibition. Besides having furnished money to buy Mr. Brisbane's Washington *Times*, they have, it appears, advanced money to establish the Newark *Ledger* and to finance the Montgomery *Advertiser*. The latter, one of the smuggest sheets in the South, has sought to deny the implications, but it is for the present hopelessly damaged. Such revelations as these, and those in the case of the *Evening Mail* in New York, gravely injure the prestige of the American press and increase the growing impression among the public that it is not to be trusted, that it is venal and controlled by large business interests.

SAN FRANCISCO is never without its first-class political scandal. With the Mooney case reaching its climax by an appeal to the Governor for clemency, on the ground of newly discovered evidence of fraud and conspiracy, by the judge who sentenced Mooney, and with labor everywhere threatening a strike against Mooney's proposed judicial murder, John D. Densmore, a Federal director of employment, makes an astounding charge against Mr. F. W. Henshaw, lately a judge of the Supreme Court of California. It is that when sitting on the bench he took a $410,000 bribe to decide the Fair will case in favor of the heirs. In this charge he is supported by Mr. Fremont Older, the editor of the San Francisco *Call*, from whom the information probably came, as Mr. Older has been credited with having forced the resignation of Mr. Henshaw under threat of exposure. At least, the charges against Judge Henshaw have been in Mr. Older's safe for months past, as a result of the penitence of a man who, says he, was the go-between in the transaction. It is only just to say that Mr. Henshaw vigorously denies all the charges, but so far he has not taken action to clear himself of the charge in court. That he must do. In all the history of our judiciary we do not know of a more startling charge or one which, if proved, will do more to discredit the judiciary throughout the United States; for the Supreme Court is the highest court of California and men everywhere will be saying that this shows how the very rich buy what they want in the way of judicial decisions. We sincerely trust that before this issue of the *Nation* appears the Governor of California will have pardoned Mooney, not because of the labor threats but because of the obvious proof that Mooney was improperly convicted.

THE Mississippi Department of Archives and History under the direction of Dr. Dunbar Rowland is starting the first veteran association in the United States of men and women who have served in the world war. It is to be distinctively a Mississippi organization, comprising all men and women of that State who enlisted in the service of their country during the war, and their fathers and mothers, Mississippi officers and men in the service of the army and navy prior to April 6, 1917, and also all Mississippians who served in the Red Cross or Y. M. C. A. The aims of the Association number seven and relate chiefly to the preserving and publishing of the records of military service by Mississippians, the gathering of historical relics, and the collection of materials for a history of home war activities such as the Red Cross and the sale of Liberty bonds. The seventh purpose is: "The building up and encouragement of love of home and country and of the spirit of international good-will among the liberty-loving nations of the world." These are good objects for a veteran association, but we very much fear that the national organizations which will be formed may be led by agitators to possess very different motives. The pension agitation and the general history of the Grand Army of the Republic must make anyone anxious when he thinks that there are four millions of men eligible to a new Grand Army and that some of them may wish to exercise political power through such a machine.

IT is a career of unusual richness and of varied service that comes to an end with the death of Charles Richard Van Hise, president of the University of Wisconsin since 1903. A scientist of distinction, his contributions to our knowledge of the geological formation and structure of the great iron ranges of Lake Superior were of noteworthy scientific and practical importance. His studies naturally led him into the economic field, and his books on conservation of natural resources and the control of trusts are probably known to a wider audience than his more serious studies in his own particular scientific field. His work as chairman of the commission that settled the great wage dispute on the Eastern railways in 1912 was of notable vigor and breadth. Yet it is perhaps chiefly as president of the University of Wisconsin that he will be remembered, for he stood at the head of that great institution during the years when it was being transformed from a university in the old sense into a great coöperative school of all the people of the State of Wisconsin. It is difficult for the outsider to realize how completely the university entered into the life of the State in all its varied agricultural, industrial, municipal, political, and spiritual aspects, and how completely in turn the State became a part of the life of the university. The change was by no means an unmixed benefit, as critics of the university have been at pains to point out. But as the less desirable features are gradually pruned away, the unprejudiced student of American history will recognize how great a contribution to democratic education and administration the "Wisconsin idea" was.

MR. OWEN WISTER has said a brave and timely word in regard to the banishment of German music from our concert programmes. Speaking before the Drama League of Philadelphia, Mr. Wister denounced this policy as "a mistaken patriotic sentiment." Most of the German symphonic music, he pointed out, was written by men who never knew and never shared the spirit of modern Germany. "They wrote the most beautiful music in the world. To banish it from our programmes is to make bricks without straw." Of course Mr. Wister did not fail to point out that an orchestra from Paris played a German symphony in Philadelphia last week and that England and France, "who are certainly not behind us in patriotism, have been playing German music right along." We hope these words of Mr. Wister will find a prompt echo in New York. True, the Philharmonic has already played Beethoven's Fifth Symphony without arousing anything but applause, but our conductors are still under the fear of being attacked by hysterical women and the alleged patriotic societies who do not know that, to quote Mr. Wister's words again, "Beethoven wrote no hymn of hate but a hymn of brotherhood. Wagner composed the greater part of his works while in exile because of his being a revolutionist." There is no longer any reason whatsoever why the Metropolitan Opera Company should continue its ban on Wagnerian opera.

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The Peace Conference

WHAT has been said in print thus far about the peace conference is, on the whole, either superficial or disappointing. It could not well be otherwise when the scantiness of the information which has been given out is considered. When one has said that there will probably be a meeting at Versailles some time in December of representatives of the Great Powers; that President Wilson proposes to attend; that Mr. Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau, and a number of other Premiers and Government officials, and of course Colonel House, will also be present; that the Jugoslavs, the Czcho-Slovaks, the unredeemed Greeks, and a considerable list of other aspiring nationalities are assuming that they will be represented, while labor, women, and Socialists are demanding that they shall be represented; that the Great Powers are trying to find some way of representing what they are pleased to call "Russia" or "the Russian people"; and that Mr. Creel and Mr. Sisson will be on hand to help with the news in the intervals of organizing democratic propaganda for Central Europe and South America, one has mentioned about all the facts concerning the conference that can be set down with assurance. How the assembly is to be constituted, what Governments and peoples are actually to be included and who their delegates are to be, and what principles are likely to be followed in dealing with the questions to be considered, are matters in regard to which a waiting world is still largely in the dark.

Now it ought to be clear—we believe that it is perfectly clear—to every Government and to every thoughtful man or woman throughout the whole world, that nothing whatever about the preparations for the peace conference, or, after the preliminaries have been completed, about the proceedings of the conference itself, ought to be left in the dark. Everybody who desires a just and lasting peace must say over and over again, and keep on insisting, that the only guarantee of such a peace is open diplomacy, and that open diplomacy means openness about procedure as well as openness about results. It is, for one thing, a matter of very great importance who the delegates are to be. Mr. Lansing, for instance, is a capable diplomatic official; he knows all the precedents and may be expected to see, so far as his influence goes, that the established forms and proprieties are carefully observed. In almost any other country than the United States he would long since have found an honorable place as Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. But if his powers or his habit of thought fit him to deal wisely or sympathetically with such a revolutionary complex of national, racial, and class interests as now holds the attention of the world, the fact has not yet appeared; and if the peace conference is to be made up chiefly of delegates of his sort, or of such as have equally restricted vision of other kinds, the peace that will be made will satisfy nobody whose opinion now greatly matters.

Again, it makes a great deal of difference how widely the nations of the world are represented. One hears it said, for example, that neutral states will have only a restricted place if they are so fortunate as to be represented at all, and that Germany must not expect to be consulted until the completed terms are handed to it. Any such discrimination, we are confident, would be an injustice which the coming generation will repay in hatred, if not in blood. The war has been a world war. Not every nation, it is true, has been in arms, but there is not one anywhere that has not suffered deeply from the struggle, or that has not come out of the conflict with grievances to be redressed or ambitions to be pondered. The peace conference should be a world conference —victors and vanquished, belligerents and neutrals, small Powers and great, the nations still in travail as well as those already born and grown up.

Of the larger problems which will come before the conference, two have special interest for Great Britain and the United States. The first is the so-called freedom of the seas. Doubtless the question of maritime rights in general, and of the status of the seas in time of war more particularly, would in any event have been an important item in the programme of the conference; but Mr. Wilson's inclusion of a demand for "absolute freedom of navigation," in war as well as in peace, in his list of fourteen peace points, gives to the question a distinctly greater significance. Unfortunately, neither Mr. Wilson's message of January 8 nor any of his earlier or later addresses has sufficed to make clear precisely what it is that he is demanding, and there are already numerous indications of sharp difference of opinion in this country and Great Britain as to how the question should be settled. What there ought to be no difference of opinion whatever about, however, is that there will be no freedom of the seas worthy of the name so long as Great Britain and the United States go on planning for great navies against the eventuality of another war. All that will happen, assuming that the two countries do not quarrel, is that the seas will be free for the uses of those who speak English by preference, and for such others only as are willing to conform to the rules which the two English-speaking Governments choose to accept.

The second great question is composite, in part territorial and in much larger part political. There seems to be a pretty unanimous opinion among the Allies that the conquered German colonies will not be restored to Germany. English statesmen, on their part, have repeatedly intimated that Great Britain does not want them, although Mr. Hughes, the Australian Premier, would apparently be quite willing to see them in English hands. What is really involved, however, is the much larger question of self-determination of peoples. Why, to be quite frank, should there any longer be colonies at all, unless the people of a colony obviously prefer a colonial status to any other? It is easy to decide that there are backward peoples, that they ought not to be selfishly exploited, and that they must have protection and help during their progress upward. But how about the peoples who quite obviously are not backward, who feel no need of protection, and who want to be free? Is the peace conference going to acquiesce in the continuance of a dependent status for them, especially when they insist that they abhor it and will have no more of it if they can help it? We feel sure that if Great Britain and the United States really wish to join hands in making the world safe for democracy, they will not burn incense at the altar of the Jugoslavs and Czecho-Slovaks, and at the same time withhold independence, if independence is desired, from Ireland and India, Porto Rico and the Philippines. Self-determination is one of those "sapling truths," as Ruskin calls them, which it is dangerous to follow unless one is willing to follow it to the end; and the success of the peace conference will be gauged in large part by the frankness with which it recognizes this particular truth and the consistency with which it pursues it.

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More Naval Folly

SECRETARY DANIELS still persists in saying that he is convinced that there must speedily be naval disarmament if the world is not to be financially ruined. Similar statements are to be found in several of his annual reports side by side with demands for staggering naval appropriations readily granted by Congress. His is in one respect surely the virtue of consistency, for he is again asking an enormous appropriation from Congress—a trifle of $600,000,000 on top of the vast sums spent in the last eighteen months, during which time the navy has been tripled in size. He is plainly a perfect example of those reformers who believe that a practice is wrong but that the way to cure it is to indulge the habit all the more. He is not even willing to imitate Winston Churchill's ante-bellum offer to Germany of a year's moratorium in ship-building; nor will he follow the example of those physicians who suggest that the way to cure the drug or drink habit is to taper off gradually. He wishes and asks for larger and larger doses while wringing his hands, a North Carolinian Cassandra, and bemoaning the fact that the world will come to ruin through excessive navalism and that nothing can stop it. At the same time he assures the Washington correspondents who assemble in his office to receive this news of his latest three-year ship-building programme that a great navy has never menaced the liberties of any nation; it is a large standing army which is to be feared.

Just how this proposal for 167 new ships is related to President Wilson's demand for disarmament, a league of nations and freedom of the seas, might puzzle anyone who was not aware that this is a *laissez-faire* Administration so far as its various members are concerned, that it works in mysterious ways its wonders to perform. It has long been the custom for one branch to ignore another in the matter of policy, just as Secretary Garrison came out in one of his annual reports for a scheme of army preparedness directly contrary to that advocated by the Commander-in-Chief, Mr. Wilson, a few days later. Mr. Wilson's Cabinet officers are a law unto themselves; they urge governmental policies, like the public ownership of telegraph and telephone, without reference to the President's beliefs and without rebuke and often without commendation from the White House. Secretary Daniels, asked how he reconciles his new programme with Mr. Wilson's policies, has publicly stated that disarmament and the league of nations are a long way off; at least they are to be settled by the peace conference! What he expects from that conference is apparent from his recent speeches to workingmen constructing naval vessels, that they need not fear loss of employment.

The programme which Mr. Daniels presents can have only one aim—the outstripping of Great Britain. We are building for possible war with our chief ally. There is no escape from this conclusion; for just as the Secretary makes his recommendations, the German naval power is forever broken, first by the surrender of its submarines and most powerful ships to the United States and the Allies, and second by the rise of the German Socialist republics. The Russian fleet is no longer a menace to any nation. A naval conflict with France is simply unthinkable, but if there were any such possibility, her fleet is negligible and Italy's even more so, while the Austrian fleet has disappeared. What navies remain save those of England and Japan? It cannot be possible danger from Japan of which Mr. Daniels is thinking, for our fleet is now fully three times the size of the Mikado's. Moreover, the war has shown how easily by the use of submarines alone it would be possible to cut off the Island Kingdom from the rest of the world. Being dependent upon imports of food, unable to construct a single merchant vessel or cruiser without steel plates from the United States or England, and lacking transports to move a large army, as a naval Power she is not to be feared. Plainly, only England remains. Here lie the danger and the folly of Mr. Daniels's acts. England's sensitiveness as to her sea-power is proverbial. Already her merchants and shipowners are looking with dread upon the completion of our great merchant fleet; naval rivalry will undoubtedly help to chill the new-born friendship arising out of the common service and victory in France. At the very moment when navalism is going down everywhere on the Continent; at the very moment when President Wilson, disregarding all precedent, is preparing to set sail for France to enforce his peace and disarmament views, nothing could be more unfortunate than this pronouncement of Mr. Daniels. Even the jingo Republican Senators have drawn back chilled. They know that the war bill must be paid and that economy will be the public demand. Congress ought to await the outcome of the peace conference before agreeing to a single dollar for naval construction.

It is the crass stupidity of it all that appalls, the total lack of leadership. Did the world come to its greatest blood-bath by the folly of conscription, of military preparedness, and of the mad race for naval power? Then let us go right on; let us introduce universal military service here and go on adding to our ships as fast as possible. Above all, let us not seek a way out—unless, perhaps we venture upon a league to enforce peace. Let us not call a conference to discuss complete naval disarmament; let us not secure a one or two years' respite in battleship building to help the world bear its staggering debts. Let us not try real remedies, whether homœpathic or allopathic; let us, instead, go on indulging in the pastime of overloading ourselves with naval armaments, as Secretary Daniels urges—doubtless in the hope that after we have stuffed far beyond any normal satiation-point we shall violently disgorge the whole.

Is it any wonder that more men than ever before despair of government; that the Russian fleet with the red flag of internationalism at the fore has to many a most attractive appearance? At least the situation offers a wonderful opportunity for both Bolsheviki and Socialists. If the former would turn their battleships into peaceful cargo carriers; if the followers of Ebert and Scheidemann would likewise abandon once for all the war-fleet which is the chiefest monument to the folly, stupidity, and wickedness of Kaiserism, they might still shame some of the defenders of liberty and democracy into disarmament. Mr. Daniels, it is true, would probably regard it as some devilish Hun or Bolshevist trick and as further proof of the menace of Socialism to the rest of the world. But there are millions of plain people everywhere who are tired of having the earth's riches squandered upon preparation for war, who would rise up and call those blessed who lead the way to disarmament. Mr. Wilson looms large indeed these days. How great would not his stature be if he were first to disavow his small-visioned Secretary of the Navy and then to achieve at Versailles real disarmament, the best possible basis for a league of free nations!

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Washington Correspondents

THE death of Francis E. Leupp recalls the fact that for fifteen years he was the valued representative in Washington of the New York *Evening Post* and the *Nation*. It is not boasting for us to add that during all those years he stood head and shoulders above the other members of the corps of correspondents. He was a writer of scholarly attainments and of really scientific thoroughness, who never treated any subject until he had mastered it. Such verifying of statements and opinions, such careful compilation of facts, such viewing a matter from all angles, is not to be found in any writing from Washington to-day. For years he sent a daily letter in addition to his dispatches and a challenge of the correctness of any one of these letters was as rare as an eclipse of the sun. Moreover, they were enriched by an extraordinary knowledge of past politics and by the Washington background he so rapidly acquired. A gentleman to his finger-tips, he had the complete confidence of all with whom he came into contact and notably that of President Cleveland, so that until the Venezuela imbroglio the *Evening Post* really voiced the opinions of Mr. Cleveland. Mr. Leupp was a man, moreover, with whom Cabinet Officers and Presidents liked to talk, for he always had excellent advice to impart and usually many facts of value gleaned in his daily rounds of the departments and of Congress. To all his other qualities, he added a delightful sense of humor which helped him through many a difficult situation, even if it did not appear in his correspondence as often as it should have. Above all, when he wrote, he wrote with authority.

We have dwelt upon this latter fact because it marks him as one apart from the correspondents of to-day. Thus, it is almost impossible to find a daily which prints mail letters from Washington of a thoroughly considered kind. The wire is the medium of the hour, and detached, quiet, and meditative writing about the currents of affairs in Washington has gone by the board. The present corps of correspondents, while it undoubtedly reveres the memory of Mr. Leupp, would as certainly write him down a hopeless back number. He was never devoted solely to the pursuit of "beats." He was not content with the fruits of an hour's stroll in the morning and a few chance conversations as the basis for an "authoritative" dispatch from Washington. He did not resort to the ordinary camouflage of the day, such as "official opinion to-day asserts," or "it was the belief in official circles to-day," which phrases have been defined by one cynic to mean that the correspondent has been quizzing somebody's office boy and that the "official opinion" is really an obedient reflex of the opinion that the managing editor at home wishes his Washington correspondent to hold, or rather, to express.

This whole question of the Washington news service is one that needs more careful study and attention than it has received. Is it true that few if any correspondents can stay very long in the atmosphere of the Capitol under present conditions and maintain the attitude of complete detachment and judicial judgment from which Mr. Leupp almost never deviated? During the past two years we have seen what is practically an official control of the press, not merely by Messrs. Burleson and Gregory, but by the logic of events and the patriotic desire of the press to support the Government to the best of its ability. But this trend is also noticeable in peace times. It is hard for the best of correspondents to criticise men to whom they must turn for news; no one likes to get the ill-will of those in power. How shall the corps be kept free from this often subtle official influence? There is the rub. Then, it is to-day almost unthinkable that any newspaper correspondent could do what Mr. Leupp frequently did—express an opinion at variance with that of the editorial page of the paper he served. Washington correspondents are chosen because they are in sympathy, or willing to appear to be in sympathy, with the policy of their employers. Any attempt to differ or even to express an opinion contrary to the great currents of popular feeling would usually be an offence akin to treason. Hence the Washington correspondent of to-day exists largely for the purpose of anticipating the Associated Press or of treating Washington news from a special or local angle. The correspondent has gradually become a glorified telegraphic reporter.

Yet there never was a greater opportunity or greater need than at present for the kind of correspondence which Mr. Leupp produced. A newspaper or a weekly which could have such an authoritative and philosophical report of events in Washington, together with a description of the play and counterplay of forces and of what is going on behind the scenes, would perform a very valuable service indeed, quite aside from any question of informative and carefully prepared articles. If there is one thing which the country is not receiving to-day, and has not been, it is an accurate portrayal of what is the real situation in Washington. Mr. Leupp delighted to lift the curtain every now and then, and did it most effectively. He could write a sketch of a man like James G. Blaine, or the late Senator Gallinger, or Mark Hanna, which, if it lacked the brilliance of political portraiture so characteristic of Mr. A. G. Gardiner in London, nevertheless was true to life and usually went below the skin. Astonishing as it seems to-day, he would often spend six months in preparing such a sketch, and invariably it was done without malice or bitterness. Truly, the future historian of the fifteen years during which Mr. Leupp wrote from Washington must turn to his letters if he would adequately portray one of the most interesting periods of our history. But what newspaper owner to-day cares to give his readers material of this kind?

Instead, we have the apologetic, the prophetic, the apocryphal, the superficial which passes for Washington "correspondence" to-day. Moreover the corps shifts so rapidly that fewer and fewer men are there long enough to obtain a political background, to enable them to judge happenings in the light of past events, and to write with real authority. Where they have such experience and knowledge, their papers do not desire anything more than the views of the hour with perhaps an occasional magazine "story." The pernicious habit of appointing Washington correspondents to political office has also had a good deal to do with the loss of prestige of the correspondents' corps. Even Mr. Leupp finally yielded, though in his case such action was born of his desire to aid the much-abused Indian wards of the nation, as to whose ill treatment and needs he was so well informed that the offer of the Indian Commissionership came as a call to public service. But above all else, the fact remains that men of his intellectual calibre, breeding, and education, are not to-day sought out for the Washington posts which ought still to be among the most distinguished and prized of the newspaper profession.

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The Labor Outlook

THE labor situation is in great confusion; for the readjustment consequent upon the cessation of hostilities is already in full swing. The abolition of overtime and Sunday work in war establishments, for example, caused 2,500 men in a single plant to quit work, fearing an end to wages of $40 and $50 a week. The Government has already cancelled contracts aggregating a billion and a third of dollars. While cancellation will undoubtedly be so managed as to create a minimum of industrial disturbance, the next few months will inevitably witness the shutting down of war plants and an enormous displacement of labor. Not only will the war factories themselves cease operation, but great subsidiary building plans and auxiliary enterprises of every kind will come to a stop. One gas-mask plant recently proposed to lay off twelve thousand employees in a single day. The Federal Employment Service persuaded the manager to dismiss them at the rate of only some hundreds daily, and was able, practically without loss of time, to place those turned off during the first few days. How long it will be possible to continue this process as the shutdown of war plants becomes more general cannot now be determined.

Side by side with the closing of war factories comes the reopening of peace plants. Industries that have been starved for lack of materials and labor are again springing into activity. Private building, brought almost to a standstill during the past year, must have labor of the right kind, in the right place—and without delay. The automobile industry is free again to resume the rapid expansion interrupted by the war. It must have mechanics, at whatever cost. Mr. Hurley wants a quarter of a million skilled men in the shipyards, and earnest efforts are already under way to enlist seamen for the merchant fleet that is to be. The pressure for coal is such that skilled miners can secure immediate discharge from the army. Luxury trades of all kinds are resuming and are reaching out for workers. In a word, with the discharge of workers from war industries, reabsorption of labor in peace pursuits is already taking place throughout the whole country on an enormous scale. On the smooth working of the process depends not only the welfare of millions of workers and their dependents, but the maintenance of social order as well. In the world's present temper, no state can take the chances involved in unemployment and strikes on a large scale.

But it is not mere questions of the shifting of labor that we face, puzzling as those questions are. Wholly new situations have been created. What of the women who by the thousands have taken places formerly occupied by men? What of the "dilution" of skilled trades by the incursion of unskilled workers? What of the new methods of recruiting and training introduced under war stress? What of the ever-present problem of agricultural labor, now intensified in many places by efforts to suppress all organization of migratory workers? And back of all other labor questions looms the problem of demobilization. No less than 1,790,000 soldiers on American soil are to be discharged at once —200,000 of them within thirty days. More than 2,000,000 men in France impatiently await the word to return home. Altogether, more than 4,000,000 workers withdrawn from industry must in some way be put back on the farm and into the factory and the office.

All these questions are intimately related to the wage problem. Despite the dictum of the economists, labor is not a commodity; and while no legislative or other fiat can fix wages irrespective of industrial conditions, we can no longer buy and sell labor just like cordwood or cotton cloth. Human elements complicate the question immensely. Mr. William H. Barr flatly declares that the greatest problem confronting us is the "liquidation" of labor, and Mr. Gompers no less truculently replies that labor will yield no jot or tittle of the gains in wages and hours brought by the war. Labor organization has aroused intense feeling on both sides and the war has brought no solution. The fires have smouldered steadily and occasionally blazed up fiercely, only to be extinguished for the time being under the war powers of the Government. Strikes have been epidemic, though neglected by the newspapers. What is to happen when the patriotic motive can no longer be invoked as a reason for keeping industrial peace?

To state these problems is to suggest how far we are from their solution. The history of the Federal Employment Service, the War Labor Board, the War Labor Policies Board, and our other war-time agencies hardly encourages the belief that we have discovered a solution. None the less we have actually made a beginning. We have learned that ultimately the placement and pay of labor cannot be left wholly to the uncontrolled play of private interest. That way lie inevitable conflict and social deliquescence. We must work out a labor policy that shall combine the widest possible freedom for employer and employee with effective social control in the common interest. That policy must be fundamentally and progressively democratic, devolving increasing responsibility upon the workers. Such a policy, as we conceive it, is less likely to be imposed upon industries from without by an all-wise state authority than to develop from within, growing out of the experience of those who have learned the necessity of mutual coöperation. Experiments in the actual operation of industrial democracy are under way in Great Britain and on the Continent. Their lesson will not be wholly lost on us. The development of a far-seeing policy, however, is a task of labor statesmanship in which the Federal Government should be a leader. As an important part of the reconstruction machine, we ought to have a Labor Policies Board whose task should be fundamentally educational.

In addition, we ought to maintain the organization necessary to give effect to our policy. Our experimentation during the war, however imperfect and faulty the instruments, has given us valuable experience. The existing machinery of placement, adjustment, mediation, and education ought not to be scrapped out of hand, as is proposed in some quarters, but to be overhauled, improved, and made to function more perfectly. In too many cases it has operated on principles that were wrong, in our judgment, but that is no reason for throwing the entire machinery overboard just at the time when we are going to stand most in need of it. It is rather a reason for working out correct principles of action, and then developing to the utmost the agencies for carrying them into effect. We have no sympathy with those who would disregard the experience of the past two years and attempt to go back far beyond that period to the days of autocratic control in industry. For in the words of Karl Liebknecht, "the future belongs to the people," and the high task of government will be to aid in organizing the labor of society in the interest of all the people, and not in behalf of any single class or group.

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Mr. McAdoo's Resignation

MR. McADOO'S career has been what we are accustomed to call typically American. Brimful of ambition, with an education none too thorough, like many another Southerner he came to New York to seek his fortune. Most of those thus transplanted never rise above mediocrity; the swift current of life in the North is too sharp a contrast to the sluggish streams upon which they voyaged in the South. Mr. McAdoo was not of these. Lean, somewhat lank, with a physiognomy slightly suggesting Lincoln's, he essayed the law with some success, but then yielded to the strongly executive quality in his nature and devoted himself to the plan of tunnelling under the Hudson which had long been abandoned. New methods devised by a brilliant engineer, Mr. Charles M. Jacobs, made this possible, and the necessary capital was won to the enterprise by Mr. McAdoo, after most difficult pleading. Naturally he became the head of the company, and there he demonstrated his executive ability chiefly by his power to please the public and to get on with the newspaper men. His phrase "The Public be Pleased" became the motto of his railways; its contrast to Mr. Vanderbilt's "The Public be Damned" tickled everybody, and the service on his railway showed that he meant to live up to the slogan.

But on the business side he was as a railroad financier and executive distinctly lacking. His tunnel lines have never come up to expectations, have escaped a receivership only by grace of the bondholders, and are still far from the prosperity Mr. McAdoo prophesies for them. This fact is directly responsible for his resignation to-day, if his stated reasons are the correct ones, and, despite all the rumors that the real motive is to place himself in a better position for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1920, the *Nation* sees no cause for doubting their validity. For Mr. McAdoo is the reputed holder of a large block of stock of the Hudson and Manhattan Company which pays no dividends. How he has maintained himself during these six years has been a mystery, for he has a large family. Cabinet officers are altogether underpaid and Mr. McAdoo, to his credit be it said, has accepted only one salary and has served in his eight other offices without extra pay.

When he was first appointed, Wall Street raged. An unsuccessful railroad man to take over the Treasury! It was unpardonable of Mr. Wilson. Mr. McAdoo was a second-rate Southern lawyer, it was said, a fortune-seeker, who had feathered his nest by taking up Wilson's cause, by conspiring with William F. McCombs, Colonel Harvey, and a few others to elect the Governor of New Jersey to the White House. Wall Street did not realize the consummate ability shown by Mr. McAdoo in the pre-nomination campaign and afterwards. Nobody knew how greatly Mr. McAdoo would develop in office and under the staggering responsibilities of the war period. Then there was resentment in financial circles because Mr. McAdoo was plainly not versed in finance, and was not even a student of banking and currency. This feeling flared up anew when he chose for an aide and crony Mr. John Skelton Williams, also with a record of questionable success in railroading. Finally, Mr. McAdoo had made his own antagonism to certain groups of capitalists clearly known.

The start of the McAdoo administration of the Treasury was not such as to win confidence for him. There were bungling and awkwardness, and Wall Street resented the refusal of both the President and the Secretary of the Treasury to have any communication with the members of the firm of J. P. Morgan and Co. and other high lights of the financial world. But by the time the crisis brought on by the panic of August, 1914, took place, Mr. McAdoo had begun to win his way into the confidence of the banks and bankers. The Federal Reserve Banking Act, the most remarkable piece of constructive legislation of half a century, was enacted just in time to be of utmost value to the country, and when the emergency came Mr. McAdoo showed his willingness to deal with friend and foe alike. After a time it was even possible for Mr. Morgan himself to enter the White House, and by the front door.

The war clearly gave Mr. McAdoo that opportunity for the full exercise of his ability for which every ambitious man longs until the hour arrives. He urged Government ownership of merchant vessels early in 1915; he was Mr. Wilson's immediate selection for Director-General of the railways. His handling of the Liberty loans speaks for itself, and he has obtained from Congress with ease the bulk of what he has asked. Compared with the other men of the Cabinet, the cheap Texas politician Burleson, the narrow and partisan lawyer Gregory, the nonentity Redfield, with Secretary Wilson and the dumb sage who sits as Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. McAdoo shines doubly. Only Messrs. Garrison and Lane have ranked with him, and between them and Mr. McAdoo there has been a distinct rubbing of rough edges, not to say friction, for they were all forcible personalities. Elsewhere are set forth in detail some of Mr. McAdoo's achievements; but, in desiring that he have every bit of the praise he deserves for the skill and success with which he has steered the country through one of the greatest financial crises of its history, it must not be overlooked that his was often a hit-or-miss method in the matter of estimates—there were times of the wildest guessing in 1917-18—and that he leaves office without any progress being made toward a scientific budget-system. Nevertheless Mr. McAdoo's is an extraordinary record of accomplishment; he must be amused when he finds the New York *Sun* and other Wall Street organs, which were so bitter against him in 1914, now bewailing his going on the ground that it robs the Cabinet of its one big figure.

On the side of his influence upon national and international policies, Mr. McAdoo's resignation is not a cause for regret. His is a passionate, often bitter nature; he has the belligerency of the Southerner and many of the prejudices. It was he who first showed the limitations of the boasted "New Freedom"—now quite forgotten—of Mr. Wilson by segregating colored clerks in the Washington departments—a disgrace that cut deeply with millions of Americans and one that will never be forgiven either Mr. McAdoo or his father-in-law. He was hot for the Vera Cruz adventure, wanted to spend endless American lives to avenge "the insult" of Tampico, and from the first was credited with being eager for war with Germany. The Wilson subjugation of San Domingo and Hayti has had his complete approval. In short, his democracy is extremely circumscribed; he is a thorough-going imperialist, eager for a big army and navy and the mailed fist—a sort of Americanized Curzon and Milner without European experience or knowledge or international vision, but with plenty of American vigor and push added. His election to the White House would be an unqualified misfortune.

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Maxim Gorky and the Revolution

By MICHAEL S. FARBMAN

AN official statement about Russia which recently caused a great sensation and stirred up much bitter controversy spoke in the following terms about Maxim Gorky's attitude toward the revolution: "Gorky did support the Bolsheviki before they came into power, but immediately afterwards turned bitterly against them and fought them daringly throughout the winter." That particular statement is on the whole a fair one. It needs only one correction: Gorky has fought the Bolsheviki not only since they came into power; he fought several months before the event, from their first attempt to seize power by force in the abortive Bolshevist rising in Petrograd in July, 1917. But even with this correction the position of Gorky throughout the revolution seems confusing. The question arises: "Why did he support the cause of the Bolsheviki first and desert them when they were nearing their goal? The programme and activities of the Bolsheviki changed very little from their first appearance in Russia after the overthrow of Czardom. What was it that made Gorky change his friendship toward them into hostility?"

These and similar questions are repeatedly asked by friends and foes of the revolution alike. In view of Gorky's position as one of the foremost spiritual leaders of New Russia, they deserve a full and fair answer. But an attempt to clear up Gorky's attitude toward the revolution means more than the doing of justice to a great and noble-spirited public man; it will at the same time help to a better understanding of the intricate and complicated problems of the revolution itself.

That Gorky became a Socialist and revolutionist was deplored by many of his admirers and by the overwhelming majority of his critics. Their contention was that a great artist should never be attached to a political creed and especially to one so rigid and doctrinaire as the Social-Democratic. A novelist has to observe life and picture it in his writings. The doctrines of a political creed inevitably lend an undesirable tendency to his writings, and he is apt to become more teacher or propagandist than novelist.

But Gorky was always true to the best traditions of Russian literature and art, which never were detached from life. He could not remain a cool and wholly detached observer of the revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary movement in Russia was never a simple fight for political freedom, for a sheer change of the political régime. It was never a doctrine or a political creed. It was the most intense expression of the highest religious hopes and forebodings; of the deepest presentiments of art; of intense longings for social justice and truth; of the seeking for a new man and a new woman. All that Young Russia believed in and hoped for made the political struggle in Russia the all-absorbing expression of life. Despondency as well as hope led to the revolutionary struggle, dull hatred as well as highest love, pessimism as well as optimism, skepticism as well as idealism, science as well as art. To be outside the revolutionary struggle was to be outside life itself. Gorky was the most powerful poet of life and its struggles, and his place was in the revolutionary movement among the creative and active forces of life.

There is no other man in Russia who worships work as Gorky does; there is no other man who suffers more bitterly and intensely because the Russian people are idle, because they have no affection for work and have been accustomed by ages of slavery to dislike and despise it. Gorky's belief in the creative power and historical mission of the proletariat is immense. Work is to him the expression of the spiritual realization of life and the only means for the perfection of man. The proletariat is to him the embodiment of work and creative force. This belief in work and in the proletariat made Gorky an enthusiastic and devoted Social Democrat.

When the Social Democratic party split, Gorky, in spite of all his sympathy for the more vigorously radical, truly proletarian mentality of the leaders of the Bolshevist group, used all his influence and enthusiasm to achieve a reconciliation of the struggling wings of the party. In association with a group of his personal friends, recognized workers in the labor movement and distinguished economists, he worked hard to bring about an understanding between the Bolsheviki and the Mensheviki. Before the revolution he tried to do so through his monthly review *Letopis*, and when the revolution made it possible to publish a Socialist daily he started the *Novaia Zhizn* with the one aim of bringing about the hoped-for unity of the party. The *Novaia Zhizn* was the most popular target for attacks in both the Russian imperialist and the Allied press; the position of the paper was so often and so wilfully misrepresented that an attempt to define its real attitude seems necessary.

The *Novaia Zhizn* was a truly independent organ. It did not belong to any party; it was not a Government organ; it was not dependent upon the mob. It was the organ of a group of revolutionary enthusiasts, and it had one thought and one purpose only: to serve the revolution and the interests of the Young Russian democracy. As a matter of fact, the *Novaia Zhizn* was at that time the only independent Socialist newspaper. *Izvestia*, the official organ of the Petrograd Soviet, was not factional at first, but shifted towards the Menshevik attitude in midsummer, and became Bolshevist when the Bolsheviki obtained a majority in the Soviet. All other Socialist newspapers were either Bolshevist or Menshevist, right or left Social Revolutionist, popular Socialist or Anarchist. The independent position of the *Novaia Zhizn* was a great asset and helped to make the paper one of the most influential organs of the revolutionary democracy. But at the same time it put it under the crossfire of all party organs, which hate independent opinion more than anything else in the world.

Three principal issues constituted the storm centre after the revolution: the contest for power, the struggle for peace, and the problems of reconstruction. The *Novaia Zhizn* differed greatly from the Bolsheviki on all these issues; yet the imperialist press with one voice accused it of being a Bolshevist paper and vehemently fought Gorky. To explain this strange attitude is to explain the most interesting phenomenon in the early history of the revolution.

It may sound like a paradox, but it is a deplorable fact that the greatest misfortune of the revolution was its absolute and universal success; it had no enemies whatever. Everybody in Russia became suddenly converted. The

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bureaucracy, the church, the landowners—all praised and blessed the revolution. The editors of notoriously reactionary papers, leaders of black-hundred organizations, high and low officials, generals, grand dukes and ambassadors—the refined and the most reactionary wing of the Czar's bureaucracy who helped to blind Europe to the real situation of Russia—all put red ribbons in their buttonholes and shouted for the "great ideals of the revolution." They could not deceive anyone and the people spoke of them with utter contempt as the hidden reactionaries. On the surface they were loyal to the revolution, which indeed nobody dared to assail openly, but only waited for an opportunity to stab it in the back.

The unity between the workers and the soldiers was the cornerstone of the revolution and the great guarantee of its security. The first effort of the hidden reactionaries was therefore to strike a blow at this unity. And they began to instigate the soldiers against the workers, industriously disseminating among them the idea that the workers were thinking of their own interests only and were "using" the soldiers for their own narrow ends. This intrigue, initiated by the reactionary press, was enthusiastically supported by the converted generals at Headquarters and was followed at first by a rather dangerous "success." It ultimately failed because the soldiers at the front, permeated by the new spirit of the revolution, decided to send delegates at once to investigate matters at Petrograd. The delegates easily discovered the origin of this campaign and their reports helped to make the unity of purpose between the army at the front and the revolutionary democracy at the rear close and more intimate.

Failing here the reaction tried many other tricks but all without success. The appearance of the Bolsheviki gave them their long cherished chance. Now they could stir up counter-revolutionary propaganda disguised as a "defence" of the "true" ideals of the revolution. They, the notorious "true Russians" of the Czarist régime, who instigated pogroms against the "faithless" and the "revolutionists," now assumed the rôle of the defenders of the "true" revolution and instigated pogroms against the "faithless"—the Bolsheviki. And the Bolsheviki of their agitation were not Lenine and his followers alone, but all who shared unreservedly the ideals of revolution represented by the Soviets. Like the "Jews," the "Bolsheviki," in the earlier stage of their despised activities, were only a pretext—the easy excuse for a pogrom agitation. The aim was to undermine the forces of freedom and to overthrow the revolution. Started at a time when the bourgeois elements had already begun to be alarmed at the social character of the revolution, this propaganda of the black-hundred reactionaries was acclaimed even among the more liberal elements of the land-owning and capitalist classes. The greatest crime of the *Novaia Zhizn* in the eyes of native and foreign imperialists was the unmasking of this plot to overthrow the revolution under the disguise of fighting Bolshevism. Gorky vigorously took up the challenge. He showed that this "defence" of the revolution against the Bolsheviki was in fact the defence of the reaction against the revolution. The Bolsheviki were only the extreme wing of the revolution and as such a part of the revolutionary democracy, whereas the instigators of pogroms against them were the old and embittered enemies of the people.

It would be misleading to leave the impression that Gorky and the *Novaia Zhizn* were alone in the fight against this counter-revolutionary plot. The other socialist newspapers, with the exception of the right Social Revolutionary organs and the *Edinstvo* of Plekhanov, joined in the fight. Chernov's *Diolo Naroda*, the central organ of the Social Revolutionary party; the *Rabotchaia Gazetta*, the central organ of the Mensheviki; and the *Izvestia*, the official organ of the Soviet—all made a vigorous campaign against "those dark forces, who go round and preach pogroms against our comrades of the left in the hope of bringing about an open feud in the democratic camp and thus overthrowing the revolution" (*Izvestia*). The truth is that the *Novaia Zhizn* fought the counter-revolutionaries only more consistently and vigorously than the other non-Bolshevist newspapers. That is why the bourgeois and imperialist press hated Gorky and his newspaper even more bitterly than they hated the Bolsheviki. There was no accusation too shameless or too mean for the imperialist press to employ against Gorky and the *Novaia Zhizn*. Gorky was accused of being an Anarchist, a pro-German, and an anti-Ally. He was not even spared the accusation of receiving German gold.

Gorky's main task, the reconciliation of the party, failed lamentably. With every day the divergence between the Bolsheviki and the Mensheviki grew greater. Nevertheless Gorky and his friends of the *Novaia Zhizn* never gave up the hope, and consistently worked for an understanding. In June, 1917, they called in Petrograd a convention of representatives of the two wings of the party. As a result of this convention, the *Novaia Zhizn* group came into close contact with the revolutionary and internationalist wing of the Menshevist party under the leadership of Martrov, one of the ablest spiritual leaders of the Russian Social Democracy. Since this convention, the *Novaia Zhizn* has expressed the views of that united internationalist group. Although the association of the *Novaia Zhizn* and the Menshevist internationalists has been scorned by all factions of Russian Socialists, and Lenine has never spoken of it without contempt, this Gorky-Martov combination remains a symbol of unity and will no doubt play a great part in the near future as a genuine rallying point for a united Socialist front.

Meanwhile the revolution was approaching a disastrous crisis. The revival of military operations in the face of a broken and demoralized army brought about the military rout, the subsequent chaos, the Kornilov attempt to overthrow the revolution, the death convulsion of the Kerensky régime and the ultimate rise of Bolshevism. Those were trying times for every Russian newspaper. The hope of the revolution, the very fate of the State itself, was at stake. The *Novaia Zhizn* warned with a resolute and manly voice against military adventure in such tragic circumstances. Russia should prepare for the eventuality of a revival of fighting when provoked by the enemy, but only as a "last and ultimate argument." To provoke the enemy, who was only waiting for the opportunity to crush Russia, and who cherished the hope that revolutionary Russia might give him his chance, was sheer madness.

The warning of the *Novaia Zhizn* and of the left wing of the revolutionary democracy was unheeded. Kerensky and the high command made up their mind to strike at an early date. Russian imperialists, reactionaries of all shades, and frank counter-revolutionists were delighted. The Allied imperialistic press hinted that a "renaissance" of Russia was dawning.

The counter-revolutionists were powerless to dam or

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subdue the revolutionary "tide." The offensive, they believed, whatever its military merits and results, would not fail to do so. They may have cherished hopes of military success. A well-organized surprise attack, even in such circumstances, might lead to some kind of initial success. The idea was that such a "victory" would inspire the whole of Russia with a new warlike fervor. But the criminal psychology of the imperialists and counter-revolutionary generals led them to welcome and even to desire a defeat of the revolutionary army. A defeat would be laid to the charge of the left, the Bolsheviki, the Anarchists, and the revolution. Then a campaign for the annihilation of the Bolsheviki, it was believed, would find support among the soldiers, who would be glad to revenge their humiliation upon anybody. It is curious to note that this "defeatist" feeling about the Russian revolution was widely shared by the Allied imperialist press, and every reverse at the Russian front was called by them a "blessing in disguise."

The offensive was a stab in the back of the Revolution and of Russia. So long as there was any hope of averting this tragedy, the *Novaia Zhizn* fought, persuaded, and warned. But the offensive was started, and Russia was faced with accomplished fact. Two courses were open to the opposition: to continue its opposition and to refuse to take any responsibility for the inevitable disaster, or to support the offensive once begun and try to lessen the calamity. The Bolshevist press took the first course. It refused to accept the offensive as the "revolutionary war" and declared it a "war against the revolution." The *Novaia Zhizn*, on the contrary, ceased its opposition to Kerensky and did its best to strengthen the morale of the army. That was the breaking point in the friendly relations between Gorky and the Bolsheviki.

Gorky's real opposition to the Bolsheviki began with the Bolshevist attempt to overthrow the Kerensky Government by a revolutionary uprising. His contention was that after the March revolution there was no more place for revolutionary methods in the contest for power in Russia. The *Novaia Zhizn* was convinced that Russia could be saved and the gains of the revolution consolidated only by a genuine Socialist Government. Every copy of the *Novaia Zhizn* supported the idea that all power should be vested in the Soviets. But the idea was to unite the Socialist parties and the revolutionary democracy against the already united counter-revolutionists, imperialists, land-owners, and capitalists. A split in the revolutionary democracy the *Novaia Zhizn* considered the greatest blow at the vital interest of the revolution. And when the Bolshevist agitation began to attribute to the watchword "All power to the Sovest" a tendency opposed not only to the united bourgeoisie, but to the more moderate elements of the Soviet itself, the *Novaia Zhizn* turned upon them, dwelling upon the danger of a split in the Socialist front.

The July uprising in Petrograd was condemned by Gorky from the moment when the first rumors predicted its coming. The Bolsheviki were in the minority in the Soviet at that time and tried to make themselves strong by the support of machine guns. In the Russian revolutionary publications there are probably no better and more glowing articles than Gorky's condemnation of that futile and politically and morally detestable attempt to establish the rule of democracy by sheer force. But when Kerensky answered with arrests, and suppressed the Bolshevist press (the first attempt against the press in free Russia), Gorky opened the columns of the *Novaia Zhizn* for Lenine and his followers.

Throughout the revolution Gorky was true to one great principle. He believed that the revolutionary democracy, in spite of all divergences of opinion, was united in its love for free Russia and Socialism; to preserve the revolution and to pave the way to Socialism it must be equally united in purpose and action. That is the reason why he was defending the Bolsheviki when the counter-revolutionary instigators of pogroms tried to split the democracy; that is why he fought the Bolsheviki when they started to widen the split in the Socialist ranks. But even when fighting the Bolsheviki since their accession to power he has never deserted the idea of bringing about a united Socialist front against the united enemies of the revolution.

When the Bolsheviki seized power in November (at that time they had not only an overwhelming majority in the Soviets, but an incontestable majority among the people) they were disposed to reconcile themselves with the other Socialist parties, the right Social Revolutionists included. The *Novaia Zhizn* enthusiastically supported this idea and appealed to the moderates for reconciliation, but the latter were irreconcilable. Kerensky succeeded in collecting some forces and marched on Petrograd. The Mensheviki and the other Socialist opponents of the Bolsheviki, who for many months had preached the idea of peace by reconciliation and decried the idea of a "fight to a finish," would not listen to any words of reconciliation. The Bolsheviki were "enemies" and the only thing to do was to annihilate them. But Kerensky's forces speedily disintegrated and the idea of a "knockout blow" against the Bolsheviki had to be given up. Then the Railway Union, a strong organization of high repute, intervened and made every effort to bring about a reconciliation. The *Novaia Zhizn* was again in favor of a Socialist coalition, but this time the Bolsheviki considered it their turn to give the "knockout blow" to the "enemy." Gorky and the *Novaia Zhizn* are still convinced that the salvation of Russia and of the revolution lies in the amity of purpose of all wings of the revolutionary democracy. That is the only safe path toward Socialism.

An American writer has recently declared in the London *Nation* that only the voice of Gorky has risen above the maelstrom, pleading for spiritual regeneration as well as economic equality. It would be well indeed if Gorky's voice and Gorky's appeals for fine methods and fine principles could be heeded—and not alone in Russia.

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Literature and a New Heroic Age

By CARL VAN DOREN

HOW shall the memory of the nations, already stored with ancient hostilities, injustices, battles, crimes, rivalries, aspirations, sacrifices, thoughts, and deeds—how shall it so far widen itself as to include the last four years, with their burden of horrors and victories? For we may still be sure enough that memory will remain—even though we have given up the term Mother of the Muses—a primary motive in the life which the imagination will live after the war as it has lived since history first set down the record of a notable thing. This life of the imagination comes as near to being an entity as anything which escapes the senses. It derives from parent conceptions and traditions, leads a kind of separate existence which criticism assails but never destroys, and vigorously bequeaths to new ages its inherited dreams, hopes, and errors, begetting, almost biologically, its kind for generation after generation. With the war there comes into this dim, real world an enormous mass of new material, so enormous, in fact, that for the moment it seems to crowd out or submerge our older recollections, seems to break our communications with the racial memories upon which we had based so many of our beliefs and opinions. This is a matter as important as new boundaries, or new dynasties, or new constitutions; belonging to folklore, it belongs also to faith; close to superstition, it is also very close to religion.

American history sufficiently illustrates what may be called the Succession of Heroic Ages, each age following and for a time dimming those gone by. Even before the Revolution there had grown up a legend of the settlement and of the Indian Wars, still chiefly local, but strong; this tradition for a time gave way to the larger events of the Revolutionary struggle. That it held its own so well was due to the fact that the Revolutionary generation and the one which immediately followed at once set themselves to find a past ample enough to do credit to the hopeful nationality just begun. They proceeded very rapidly in the search, helped both by accumulating tradition and by such powerful auxiliaries as Irving, Cooper, Bancroft, Hawthorne, and Longfellow; but half a century had to elapse before colonial matters stood side by side in the popular imagination with the Revolution. The apotheosis of Washington, the steady blackening of Tories and whitening of Whigs, the enlarging to Plutarchian proportions and dignity of all the aspects of the controversy—nothing is wanting to make the process resemble that which in duskier ages glorified Charlemagne for his war with the Saracens, or Arthur for his valor against Saxon and Roman. The folk follows its poetical bent in all ages, in spite of science. By the middle of the nineteenth century the American popular imagination had two heroic ages to think back to, as well as the large contemporary theme of westward expansion and the related confidence in a mighty destiny sure to be realized in a time not unimaginably remote. Into this company the Civil War thrust itself with terrific force—the War of 1812 and the Mexican War had not stirred the deeper spirit of the nation—and dwarfed two heroic ages as the Revolution had dwarfed one. To say "The War" was to mean the strife between North and South; Lincoln grew, quite noticeably at the expense of Washington, into the dimensions of our principal hero; only in the nineties did a new school of historical romancers again catch the popular ear with the cloak-and-sword narratives which gave back to our elder ancestors their slightly faded glory.

How thoroughly a similar break with the past has taken place since 1914, not merely since 1917, we need go no further to find out than to the nearest account of Bunker Hill or even Gettysburg—shrunken, both of them, by comparison with the Marne, the Somme, and Verdun. And not only actions dwindle; for the moment, old motives seem almost as unwarranted as old catastrophes seem easy to bear. The past has become strangely unreal. For its sins of being old and of conducting to the Great War, we are half disposed to sentence it to annihilation and oblivion. No frame of mind is more common than that which sees in the present cataclysm the death of the past and the birth of a world so new that anticipations of it must use millennial language in the failure of any other to sound adequate. Yet this is not, and cannot be, a wholly popular movement. The general imagination, dazzled as it may be for a little, never breaks with the past entirely. Already signs appear that it is absorbing another heroic age and ranging it with older treasures of memory. Whether Europe, heretofore more closely bound to antiquity than we, now having suffered so much more and looking back over a wider and deeper gulf of separation, can link itself as quickly as we with its elder memories, is still to be seen. Conceivably a larger duty than ever rests upon us for preserving the ancient cultures and arts. For the present, the popular imagination has given up its interest in bitter arguments over who started the war and has turned to subjects more truly epic, in particular the accounts of real deeds by actual participants. This shift is typical, for argument has never seemed very heroic to the popular imagination, even when, as in Covenanting Scotland or primitive New England, arguments have been as hard as weapons. Pretty surely the stout-hearted perseverance of certain conscientious objectors or the haunting dilemmas of men who could not serve both country and dependents will not pass into the heroic records, much as they deserve it. Indeed, though the war has been fought as a moral crusade, it is even now a question whether the Lodges and Roosevelts of the nations may not prevail with their clamor over the Smutses and Wilsons with their reason and justice. Lenity, however, belongs as well as revenge with the virtues which the people cherish, and Lincoln remains a folk hero while the "revengists" of 1865 survive only in books. There is no danger, of course, that the present conflict will be followed among the victors by any romantic idealization of the defeated. The Germans have already entered the dishonorable companionship of Vandals and Huns, where they have doubtless a future in the legends of some score of centuries. Nor is this the only instance in which nations have changed their reputations with the world during these four years: to Americans the British, long our symbol for formality and dullness, now seem incredibly light-hearted and merry; while the French have exchanged character with their old foes across the Channel and have come to seem all we can imagine of stoical and silent courage. Greatest change of all for our national imagination, we found our own tradition dimmed

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and dwarfed by the heroic activities of a foreign continent, and joined those activities out of imaginative enthusiasm as well as out of a sense of duty.

Without much question, the special triumph to come from the war will be the sense, the feeling, in the various national imaginations, of all the international bonds established by the conflict. The dead, we partly realize, compose another City of God, a new citizenship and communion of sacrifice. "The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone," said Lincoln, actually of another occasion but prophetically of this, "will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature." In the fellowship of fighters of many nations in a similar cause there is sufficient seed for such an international imagination as has not existed before, seed and soil enough for the larger growths of a permanent literature.

The relation between literature and this folk memory is probably about the same as that between an individual's actual utterance and all he thinks and feels; at best it halts, unaccountably silent on some topics and candid about others, never more than partially representative of the inner world from which it proceeds. Even Shakespeare's most radiant moments must have left most of him unuttered; the whole literature of his age can have expressed but portions of itself. To speak in Elizabethan terms, our age still lacks its Spenser and Shakespeare and Hooker and Bacon; we have not yet achieved a Hakluyt even, though for him the materials lie waiting. Mention of Hakluyt suggests a body of literature already achieved and easily fit to stand beside any like achievement in any other heroic age—the narratives of eye-witnesses, to which we have turned as a relief from the controversialists. Collections and compilations begin to appear on the lists of publishers who have felt some stirring of that boundless ambition of Hakluyt's to set down the long voyages and famous victories of the men of his own age. Cycle-making has shown its earliest tendencies, in expectation, possibly, of another Hakluyt, if not another Froissart or Malory, if not another Homer. The documents are superb: ranging, to mention only works in English, from the inextinguishable gayeties of Bruce Bairnsfather and the *Stars and Stripes* to jolly letters in hundreds of obscure country newspapers; from bluff, vigorous, records like Empey's "Over the Top" to the confessions of sensitive souls like Donald Hankey; from hasty, vivid, half-coherent journals to books with so much of the classic about them as Dorothy Canfield's "Home Fires in France," or John Masefield's "Gallipoli" and "The Old Front Line," revelations of spirits as detached and flame-like as Alan Seeger's, as home-bred and native and sound as William Allen White's; all moods, all passions, all raptures, all agonies, in every weather and along every meridian, beneath sharks and above eagles. What but the great war has ever brought to a common task tempers more widely different than those of Guynemer or D'Annunzio on the one hand and on the other of the plain men who, dumbly and sadly, hardly comprehending the issue, have left their true fields and occupations for soaking trenches and freezing rigging, to build with the hands of their spirits more than their corporal hands knew or their eyes could ever hope to see?

Conscription has served literature at least to the extent that it has drawn all manner of men into war-making and afforded poets an acquaintance with battle which few of them have had since the Renaissance; and it has given almost every soul in Europe and most souls in the Americas some cause to feel tragedy. Few who survive the war can remain insusceptible to the records of it. How far this broad basis can affect literature remains still to be shown. Heretofore the popular imagination has always fixed itself upon a few chosen heroes: some gallant poet like Rupert Brooke, some Bayard like Guynemer, some Charles Martel like Joffre, some eloquent leader like President Wilson. These and a few others are as yet the outstanding heroes of this war. Their legends have begun and books have been written about and by them, none so clearly great as the President's own. But there is another form of literature related to conscription and the participation in war of all men—the vast literature of horrors and atrocities. Certainly quite as numerous and impressive as the books recounting heroic deeds are those which set forth the hateful behavior of the enemy, which make clear how revolting at the best are the conditions of filth and savagery in which battles must now be fought. Even had the Germans not behaved more abominably than any army for a thousand years, there must still have been bitter protests against the brutalities of war from the many men called unwillingly to arms from the sweet and pleasant uses of peace.

No partisan of the Allies has written a notable popular book in glorification of war as war, or of its splendors or loveliness; rather do our favorite heroes appear as waging war upon war as the most hideous of ills, an evil to destroy which forever is a holy undertaking. Of course war against war is only a little less ancient than war itself; Goya and Verestchagin speak no less terribly in their pictures than does Barbusse in "Le Feu." But whereas they but partially represent their generation, Barbusse is type and symbol and spokesman for at least half of his. The laughter and the apparent *insouciance* of the fighting men were rarely, at least among those who thought at all, more than a sort of uniform of the spirit which they wore for the sake of their self-respect while acting out the vast cosmic paradox of a war to end war. After a century, perhaps, some later Thomas Hardy, looking back upon this day as Hardy has long looked upon the Napoleonic Wars, will compose another Drama of Dynasties in which the Pities and the Ironies will contend for the last word on the most terrible stage yet set for men. In our ears the Pities are the insistent voices. Who now believes that the Ironies will even then be heard, that their loud glee will exclaim over our folly, over us who tried to burn fire with fire, with water to drown water? If the tragedies of men are the comedies of the gods, who of us now can feel sure that gods so distant are greatly better than no gods at all? And yet the paradox under which four years have fought as under a banner has this curious and unexpected sequel, if in fact war and its attendant horrors are really brought to their lasting burial deep down and hidden among the outlived passions and errors of mankind: that all the world's unspeakable sacrifices have been made for the sake of slaying what will some day seem unthinkable and may even be forgotten. Something there must be in us which will never to the end of time forget. But—and here we rise to the full apprehension of the age's sacrifice—it would be better—far better—for our children to unlearn war and to forget all about it than to keep their knowledge fresh by perennial use and practice of the arts by means of which war is waged and by which its menace is perpetuated.

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Secretary McAdoo's Services

By FISCUS

NO Secretary of the Treasury has ever been entrusted with so much responsible work as Secretary McAdoo has had to shoulder since he assumed the Treasury portfolio on March 4, 1913. When he entered upon his duties, it seemed as if he would have the easy-going career of the average Treasury head, with the usual dinners, secret conferences, and speeches before conventions of bankers. Almost from the moment that he took up the real work of his office, however, he was confronted with new problems and forced to pass quick judgment upon a hundred questions which few of his predecessors ever had to answer.

Congress was soon engaged in framing a new currency law, which of all legislation was the most difficult to secure. During the period when the Federal Reserve Act was being formulated, the Treasury was called upon constantly for data and expert advice touching various aspects of this most intricate and remarkable piece of legislation. The President had set his heart upon securing the quick enactment of a currency law, and the campaign to obtain it was pushed against the advice of astute political leaders who contended that such legislation ought not to be hurried and that the bill could just as well go over until the following year, when the country would have time to digest it. In the light of the tragic happenings of the succeeding twelve months, however, it was surely fortunate that the President and his Secretary of the Treasury had forced Congress to enact the new currency law without a year's delay. If the legislation had been deferred, the country would have been wholly unprepared to meet the European crisis in the summer and fall of 1914, since our banking system in those days lacked the safeguards and facilities necessary to carry the country through the most terrific ordeal that it had ever encountered.

As chairman of the reserve bank organization committee, which ceased its functions just ten days after the world war began, Secretary McAdoo, together with D. F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture, and John Skelton Williams, Comptroller of the Currency, made a tour of the West and South to hear the claims of various cities whose residents were desirous of having the Government locate within their borders one of the twelve Federal Reserve Banks. This was highly important work, which the committee under Mr. McAdoo's leadership did so well as to make it unnecessary for the Federal Reserve Board to change the schedule, except in minor particulars. As soon as the Federal Reserve Board was sworn in, on August 10, 1914, Mr. McAdoo assumed its chairmanship as the law provided. The country was then in a furore over the European war, and leading bankers were rushing to Washington to confer with the members of the Federal Reserve Board over the foreign-exchange situation, relief work in various States, the formation of the $100,000,000 gold pool, and other expedients undertaken to meet exceptional needs.

In all these conferences, Mr. McAdoo as head of the Treasury naturally took a leading part. His office was immediately called upon to pass upon highly important questions concerning the issuance of emergency currency, the output of clearing-house loan certificates, the giving of quick aid to sections whose industries were imperilled by the tying up of ocean traffic as a consequence of the war and the blockades which resulted from it, and the deadlock in foreign exchange. The public has never known the extent of this service which Mr. McAdoo and his six associates of the Federal Reserve Board rendered the country in those fateful days. The Treasury Department was appealed to by hundreds of business men for assistance and advice, and with the development of the European demand for American gold, extraordinary measures were necessary to protect our reserves and to prevent panic here.

As the war progressed, the burdens of the Treasury increased, and with the entrance of the United States into the list of belligerent nations in April, 1917, Secretary McAdoo was forced to raise prodigious amounts of money to provide the costs of making American participation in the great war really effective. It is certain that no other Treasury head was ever called upon to provide such enormous outlays in so short a time. None ever met the test more brilliantly, or with greater success, than Mr. McAdoo has done.

The flotation of these great loans called for the organization of special selling forces, and it was largely through the efforts of Secretary McAdoo that the unique house-to-house canvasses of the last eighteen months were made. In the intervals between the formal offerings of the long-term bonds, the Government was forced to borrow heavily from the banks, and through the foresight of Secretary McAdoo the present system of Treasury certificates of indebtedness was devised for the purpose of uniting the 30,000 banks and trust companies of the United States in a movement to set aside every other week 2½ per cent of their gross resources for investment in the Government's short-term obligations. In this way, the Treasury has been able to collect during long periods from $500,000,000 to $750,000,000 every fortnight from the sale of its certificates and thus provide for the huge war expenditures as the necessity arose.

It was largely through the efforts of Secretary McAdoo that the system of thrift stamps and war-savings certificates was developed along nation-wide lines. A remarkable organization has been built up, and the sale of these certificates has been so encouraging as to indicate that the expedient may be retained in some form for some time to come. Besides this special work, Secretary McAdoo has had to decide various other questions which have arisen in connection with the enormously increased volume of routine work which the Treasury has had to handle in connection with the extraordinary financing which the Government has had to arrange for. The problems of the office have been much more complex than any other incumbent has had to reckon with. Secretary McAdoo has had to serve as chairman *ex officio* of the Federal Farm Loan Board, the United States Section of the International High Commission, and the War Finance Corporation, besides conferring frequently with his associates on the Federal Reserve Board. These duties would have been sufficient to wreck the constitution of an ordinary man who did not have to fill the series of other responsible offices which the Secretary has had to hold in connection with the working out of the Government's extraordinary war programme.

In reviewing the results which were obtained by Mr. McAdoo as Director-General of Railroads, the subject must

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be approached from three different viewpoints, that of the Government, that of investors, and that of the shipping and travelling public. In each case the verdict reached is the same. The country's experiment of the past year with its railroads has met with both success and failure. Which of these two is to outweigh the other will be decided largely by Mr. McAdoo's successor who takes office on January 1.

To realize fully where the Government stands today in its experiment with the railroads it is necessary to go back and analyze the situation existing a year ago. The country had then been at war nearly eight months. Its war problem was largely one of transportation, of keeping our Allies as well as our own army and navy supplied with food and ammunition. That meant moving first raw and then finished products from one place to another as needed. In November of last year, one well-known railroad president after another appeared at Washington and testified under oath that because of a complete breakdown in its transportation machinery the country was facing a crisis. After going over the entire situation with Howard Elliott, Daniel Willard, Fairfax Harrison, and other members of the Railroad War Board, Senator Newlands, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Railroads, issued a widely published statement in which he said that Congress must immediately suspend all anti-trust and anti-pooling laws, and that the Government, in addition to granting the requsted 15 per cent. increase in freight rates, must lend to the railroads immediately $1,000,000,000. Unwilling to grant these demands, President Willson decided to take over the railroads and place them in the hands of Director-General McAdoo.

That the railroad presidents had not exaggerated the situation confronting the country was made plain only a few weeks later when, because of country-wide freight congestion and lack of fuel and raw materials, it became necessary, in order to gain a breathing spell, to stop all the wheels of industry. Then for successive Mondays, week after week, there was a dead halt in all factories, mills and business not engaged in work absolutely essential to winning the war. For the country as a whole those were painful and costly days, but in no other way could food and ammunition be kept moving. Compare that situation with the one existing today. According to the figures just given out by the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington, for the nine months ended September 30, the railroads of the country under Government operation furnished $2,452,484,224 worth of freight transportation alone, against only $2,084,-717,810 for the corresponding months of 1917 under private ownership. That is an increase of 17 per cent. for the nine months. Inasmuch as the increase of 25 per cent. in freight rates authorized by Director-General McAdoo became effective only on June 25, covering only three of the nine months, it must be assumed that this year, under Government operation, more business was handled by the railroads. Despite the larger volume of business, for months the country has been free of congestion. Director-General McAdoo must be given credit for having relieved the country of freight congestion. In this particular the Government has met with success in its experiment.

As to the cost, that is the other side of the story. For the nine months of the year up to the end of September the railroads as a whole, according to the statement just issued, show net income of $518,656,000. Under the Government's guarantee, the railroads get $80,000,000 net income a month, or $720,000,000 for the nine months up to the end of September. That is a deficit of $200,000,000. With the influenza epidemic at its worst through October, and with traffic for November showing a falling off as a result of peace, the outlook for the last three months of 1918, usually the best months of the year, is not promising.

That is Mr. McAdoo's record briefly outlined from the viewpoint of the Government. What have investors to say after nine months of Government operation? That the Government's guarantee of net income, followed by the 25 per cent. increase in freight rates, the $900,000,000 improvement programme and the loans of $421,550,598 to date, have greatly restored confidence in railway investments must be admitted. Nevertheless, on the very same day that Mr. McAdoo announced his intention of resigning, it was learned that the National Association of Owners of Railroad Securities had employed a large staff of well-known lawyers to bring about a return of the railroads to private ownership. To what extent this organization accurately reflects countrywide sentiment of investors is an open question. In its recent fight against signing the Government contract the National Association of Owners of Railroad Securities was not supported even by the railway executives who had the matter in hand.

What is the vedict of shippers and travellers? From widely separated parts of the country reports are beginning to come in that the verdict of shippers and travellers was expressed at the elections on November 5. The fact that the Government has been able to expand its transportation machinery and handle a larger volume of business without congestion is generally attributed to the elimination of competition and the operation of all of the lines as one system. While fully appreciating the improvement over the conditions existing a year ago, the shipper and traveller know perfectly well that they are paying out more in two ways for every ton of freight moved and for every mile of track covered, first in money and then in deteriorated service.

Two reasons may be given for the deterioration in railway service under Government operation. First, higher wages and newly found power have gone to the heads of railway employees. Next, there has been a let down in the real driving force behind the railroads, the under officials receiving from $3,000 to $6,000 a year. These officials not only have received no advance in pay, but their power to make decisions and to control the men under them has been greatly curtailed. With the means of securing promotion gone, these officials have lost heart and are doing only enough to keep out of trouble.

If an election were to be held tomorrow to decide between Government and private ownership of the railroads it would be safe to predict that the public, aside from railway investors and railway employees, would decide for a return to private ownership. It is safe to predict too that from now on that feeling will grow rapidly. And therein lies the great danger ahead. If there is a stampede for a return to private ownership, proper use will not be made of the experience obtained at great cost under both Government and private ownership. It is no exaggeration to say that a very large part of the nation's future peace of mind and happiness hangs on how our transportation problem is handled during the coming days of reconstruction. Either to continue as at present or to go back to old conditions would be a great mistake. What is needed is private ownership with the strictest kind of intelligent Government regulation.

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In the Driftway

DESPITE the armistice, the process of making loyal Americans by force goes on apace. Thus, a friend of The Drifter sends him the following item from the Galveston *Daily News*:

Strenuous measures were taken to-day by Washington County citizens. Antone Pawlosku of Sandtown was whipped in the public square, painted yellow, and forced to march through the streets carrying a flag and shouting, "To hell with the Kaiser! Hurrah for Uncle Sam!" At Burton, some county citizens whipped Fritz Kunkel and painted him yellow, Louis Klanke was whipped by some of the citizens of Burton. Otto and Hermann Roemer consented to pay double their war assessments. Louis Hermann, residing near Brenham, was whipped and doubled his assessment.

This I submit, is the proper way to produce money for the seven philanthropic organizations which have just now been passing the hat. It worked successfully in drumming up Liberty loan subscriptions in the West and in the earlier Red Cross compaigns. Besides, it has such a real note of democracy and liberty about it as to make it particularly inspiring. Fortunately it has not been confined to Texas, by any means. Similar cases have been reported from Virginia under the very shadow of the Capitol itself.

* * * * *

Quite the most touching proof that banks and bankers are not without hearts and kind intent, comes to us from the State of Colorado. It is contained in the following letter:

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK
Capital and Surplus $55,000.00
Las Animas, Colorado,
September 19th, 1918.

Mr. W. F. E——,
Caddoa, Colorado.
Dear Sir:—

We received in to-day's mail a check for $16.00 given by you sometime ago to the Non-Partisan League. We have taken the liberty of refusing payment on this check believing that you have of late months found out enough about this organization to make you approve of our action. We have done this in a number of cases for our customers and without exception we have found every one of them were very much pleased that we handled the matter in this manner, and trust that you also will agree with us when we say this is a dangerous organization and that you will get nothing for your giving. However, if you desire this check paid we will comply with your request.

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) EDW. S. RISLEY,
Cashier.

* * * * *

This exceeds anything I have heard of in the way of service to the public. To some effete Easterners, it may seem rather surprising that this Las Animas Bank should thus safeguard the public, but what untold sums could not be saved if the New York city banks would follow this interesting example and return, for instance, checks intended for the American Defence Society, the Security League, and other "dangerous organizations." Indeed, in the interest of conserving public resources it might be well to have the banks pass upon the wisdom of buying certain types of motor cars and all sorts of luxuries, and to return, for instance, checks for opera boxes from men the size of whose bank accounts plainly does not warrant such extravagance. Indeed, the prospect opened up is one of unlimited usefulness to the public. I cannot think of anything that would tone up the public morale more rapidly than such censorship of checks. Thus, every Republican bank could return to the donors all checks drawn to the order of the Democratic party, and the Democratic banks could take the same course with all checks intended for Chairman Hays. This would be a most effective way of limiting campaign contributions and the surest way of obtaining absolutely accurate information as to party incomes. Altogether, I think that Edw. S. Risley has a great career before him as the inventor of this astonishing new development in American banking. We look forward to seeing him at least a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. before many months have passed.

THE DRIFTER.

Reconstruction at Rochester

THE National Municipal League has the honor of having called the first national conference on the subject of reconstruction. To some of those who spoke at Rochester reconstruction meant mainly the repairing of war damage in Europe. To others it signified the immediate business of effecting the transition to a peace footing, but to most it implied a much wider programme. It was noticeable at the conference, however, that there was not so much as a reference to questions concerning the fundamental principles of social organization or to general economic theories. On the other hand, there was nothing hide-bound about the thinking, and there was no reverence for precedent as precedent, but on the contrary a great reluctance to see the many administrative experiments of the war scrapped with the coming of peace. It is curious that nothing at all was said in regard to any of the proposals for a commission or board, however chosen, to deal with problems of reconstruction. The chief papers were those by Professor H. L. McBain, Professor Charles A. Beard, Richard S. Childs, and Delos F. Wilcox, but some of the freshest and most suggestive contributions came from the floor.

The first evening was given to representatives of Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Italy who spoke, in the main, of the needs of their respective countries in the task of making good the ruin wrought by the war. Naturally they were listened to with the greatest possible interest and sympathy. A painfully contrasting impression was however produced by some of the remarks of Mr. Moree, an agent of the Italian information bureau at Washington, who continually referred to Albania, whose independence Italy herself underwrote shortly before the war, as an Italian colony, and boasted of the schools which, for obviously political purposes, Italy is establishing there.

The discussions dealt less with municipal than with Federal functions, and in the main with demobilization, transportation, housing, employment, and the problems of public service. In general, little consideration was given to questions of political or legal form. Professor McBain's keen and lucid essay was, indeed, essentially an analysis of the constitutional limitations on Federal activities in time of peace, in respect, for instance, to such matters as regulation of capital and labor, price fixing, government ownership, and national subsidies used as a means of standardizing and controlling non-federal activities. His thought moved wholly within the existing constitutional frame and it was left to others on the floor to raise the question of constitutional change. It was only at the close of the whole series of discussions that another important question of political reform was raised. It was pointed out that if Germany es-

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tablishes a parliamentary form of government with a Ministry responsible to the legislative body, the United States will be left alone among the great states without such a constitutional arrangement and with a Congress subordinated to both the judiciary and the executive.

Professor Beard dealt, incisively and suggestively as always, with the conditions of public employment. He estimated that some five million Americans are now employed in public service, using the term in a wide sense. He referred to Lenine's speech of last March as one which would stand out in history by reason of its recognition of the need, in a democracy, of expertness and efficiency. Professor Beard discussed how such expert civil servants could be obtained and kept under peace conditions. Public service must be made to mean a career, offering opportunities within itself for education and advance and involving no restriction of political rights or of the right to organize and in the last resort to strike. The growth of the coöperative sense, not coercion, should prevent strikes in public service. George T. Keyes of the National Civil Service Reform League urged that the Civil Service Commission should be given much wider responsibilities than it now has, and made an employment authority with rights of "hiring and firing." But more interesting than the discussion of public service was the evidence, in the person of speakers, of the growth of the idea and practice of public service. The conference was above all enriched by the experience of young and vigorous men who had been engaged on national tasks, working under a high head of steam with the national power and wealth behind them, unwarped by the profit-making motive, and concerned with achievement, and achievement only. It was a type as unlike the sleepy routine Federal place-holder of tradition as could be imagined.

Some attention was given to the manner and rate of demobilization and to provision for absorbing the labor to be released from army and camp and munition factory. The development of the Employment Service, which has hitherto been finding men for jobs, into an efficient instrument for finding jobs for men, and the provision, if necessary, of buffer employments to take up any interim slack was spoken of and the obvious desirability of this measure of foresight in regard to other unemployment crises was pointed out. This side of reconstruction, however, was not much stressed.

The main substance of the sessions was the twin problem of transportation and housing. The accounts given by Ernest Cawcroft and Richard S. Childs of the many housing "projects" of the war and navy authorities, the United Housing Corporation in the Department of Labor, and the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and Mr. Ackerman's pictures of the new type of English and American house-building brought a vivid sense of the great leap forward in the conditions of living that would be possible if American energy, intelligence, and taste could work freely on a large enough scale and unfettered by narrowly commercial considerations. If a development of garden suburbs served with adequate transportation could raise the standard of demand on the side of tenants and draw them away from the bad old congested areas, which at the same time are being pressed upon by the expansion of business districts and worried into at least a little better shape by the rising requirements of sanitary and housing authorities, the destruction of the slum would be under way. Much of the housing provided by the Government for industrial workers during the war was purposely planned on temporary lines and will be simply dismantled, and the lumber will be disposed of. Other undertakings, notably the villages for ship workers, will be pushed to completion.

The political problems involved in these suddenly gathered communities, sometimes of thousands of people, and their relations to the unit or units of government within whose areas they happen to lie, are curious and complicated. It would seem alien to our whole way of doing things for them to continue as Federal enclaves. The question of the system to be ultimately adopted in regard to the holding of the property is equally important. Tenant copartnership carries infinitely the best promise from the social point of view, and this plan, which has met English conditions so admirably, may prove capable of being acclimated here.

Perhaps the most brilliant and effective contribution to the conference was Mr. Wilcox's paper on street railways. He spoke of the evil days on which street railways have fallen, faced at once with the increased cost of labor and material and the competition of automobiles and jitneys, and with fares limited by contract to a fixed amount. The alternatives are to permit an increase of fare, as has been done in Massachusetts and elsewhere, or to grant subsidies or their equivalent, as in New York and other cities. Even in the event of public ownership the same alternative of higher fares or higher taxes would have to be faced unless the economic situation alters. Thus far economies like skip-stops, reduction in the number of cars run, and other savings at the expense of the public, have not been sufficient to reverse the unfavorable position of the roads.

Another important question is whether the public is willing, by consenting to a zone system, to sacrifice the social advantages of the policy of uniform fares, a policy which lessens the tendency to congestion by refusing to impose a money cost as well as a cost of time upon citizens living outside the crowded centre. Other pressing questions, in case the public takes over the roads, are that of the capitalization to be reckoned in the purchase price, the manner of operation, the method of control when the line runs through the territory of more than one authority, and the problem of how to gain relief from the intolerable nuisance of strikes and at the same time to secure to employees a sense of freedom and content. In any case the street-railway question is bound to be regarded henceforth from the point of view of public service.

Many of the conditions which have favored effective Government action during the war will be lacking hereafter. The vivid sense of the patriotic duty of national service, the war-time powers of the Executive, the readiness of officials to invent short cuts and ignore red tape, and of the public to pour out money like water, the coöperation, in informal and voluntary ways, of State and local bodies and of private citizens with Federal authorities in all sorts of novel courses—all this will either pass away or tend to return to an everyday level. Yet there is no reason why it should return to the level of the days before the immense experience of common effort in the war. The whole tone of the Rochester meeting was one of enterprise, courage and initiative. This is as it should be. America is not exhausted but enormously stimulated. If there is no hope that we can be ultimately excused from facing other and deeper-lying problems than those taken up by the Municipal League, in any case these concrete and relatively manageable matters must be attended to in the spirit that characterized the Rochester gathering. E. G. B.

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League of Free Nations Association

Statement of Principles

THE object of this Society is to promote a more general realization and support by the public of the conditions indispensable to the success, at the Peace Conference and thereafter, of American aims and policy as outlined by President Wilson.

The particular aims, such as the liberation of Belgium, Servia, Poland, and Bohemia, and their future protection from aggression, and America's own future security on land and sea, are dependent upon the realization of the more general aim of a sounder future international order, the corner-stone of which must be a League of Nations.

The purposes of such a League are to achieve for all peoples, great and small:

(1) Security: the due protection of national existence.

(2) Equality of economic opportunity.

Both these purposes demand for their accomplishment profound changes in the spirit and principles of the older international statecraft. The underlying assumption heretofore has been that a nation's security and prosperity rest chiefly upon its own strength and resources. Such an assumption has been used to justify statesmen in attempting, on the ground of the supreme need for national security, to increase their own nation's power and resources by insistence upon strategic frontiers, territory with raw material, outlets to the sea, even though that course does violence to the security and prosperity of others. Under any system in which adequate defence rests upon individual preponderance of power, the security of one must involve the insecurity of another, and must inevitably give rise to covert or overt competitions for power and territory dangerous to peace and destructive to justice.

Under such a system of competitive as opposed to coöperative nationalism the smaller nationalities can never be really secure. Obviously Belgians, Jugoslavs, Poles, Czecho-Slovaks will not be secure if they have to depend upon their own individual, unaided strength. International commitments of some kind there must be. The price of secure nationality is some degree of internationalism.

The fundamental principle underlying the League of Nations is that the security and rights of each member shall rest upon the strength of the whole League, pledged to uphold by their combined power international arrangements insuring fair treatment for all.

The first concern of a League of Nations is to find out what those arrangements should be, what rules of international life will insure justice to all, how far the old international law or practice must be modified to secure that end. It is to the interest of the entire world that every nation should attain its maximum economic development, provided it does not prevent a similar development of other nations. The realization of this aim depends upon a gradually increasing freedom of mutual exchange with its resulting economic interdependence. It is certain, for instance, that if anything approaching equality of economic opportunity as between great and small, powerful and weak, is to be obtained, the following must be guaranteed for all on equal terms:

(*a*) No state shall accord to one neighbor privileges not accorded to others—this principle to apply to the purchase of raw material as well as to access to markets. Equality of economic opportunity does not mean the abolition of all tariffs or the abolition of the right of self-governing states to determine whether Free Trade or Protection is to their best interests.

(*b*) States exercising authority in non-self-governing territories shall not exercise that power as a means of securing a privileged economic position for their own nationals; economic opportunity in such territories shall be open to all peoples on equal terms, the peoples of nations possessing no such territories being in the same position economically as those that possess great subject empires. Investments and concessions in backward countries should be placed under international control.

(*c*) Goods and persons of the citizens of all states should be transported on equal terms on international rivers, canals, straits, or railroads.

(*d*) Landlocked states must be guaranteed access to the sea on equal terms both by equality of treatment on communications running through other states, and by the use of seaports.

The first task is legislative in its nature. The problem is to modify the conditions that lead to war. It will be quite inadequate to establish courts of arbitration or of law if they have to arbitrate or judge on the basis of the old laws and practices. These have proved insufficient.

It is obvious that any plan insuring national security and equality of economic opportunity will involve a limitation of national sovereignty. It is here particularly that the success of the League will demand the doing of the "unprecedented things" mentioned by President Wilson. States possessing ports that are the natural outlet of a hinterland occupied by another people will perhaps regard it as an intolerable invasion of their independence if their sovereignty over those ports is not absolute but limited by the obligation to permit of their use by a foreign and possibly rival people on equal terms. States possessing territories in Africa or Asia inhabited by populations in a backward state of development, have generally heretofore looked for privileged and preferential treatment of their own industry and commerce in those territories. Great interests will be challenged, some sacrifice of national pride demanded, and the hostility of political factions in some countries will be aroused.

Yet if, after the war, states are to be shut out from the sea; if rapidly expanding populations find themselves excluded from raw materials indispensable to their prosperity; if the privileges and preferences enjoyed by states with overseas territories place the less powerful states at a disadvantage, we shall have re-established potent motives for that competition for political power which, in the past, has been so large an element in the causation of war and the subjugation of weaker peoples. The ideal of the security of all nations and "equality of opportunity" will have failed of realization.

Both President Wilson and Lord Grey have insisted that the creation of a League of Nations must be an integral part of the settlement itself. Both have indeed declared that if it is not established at that settlement, it is never likely to be.

The reason is obvious. If the League is not a political reality at the time that the territorial readjustments come to be discussed; if, as in the past, nations must look for their future security chiefly to their own strength and resources, then inevitably, in the name of the needs of national defence, there will be claims for strategic frontiers and territories with raw materials which do violence to the principle of nationality. Afterwards those who suffer from such violations would be opposed to the League of Nations because it would consecrate the injustice of which they would be the victims. A refusal to trust to the League of Nations, and a demand for "*material*" guarantees for future safety, will set up that very ferment which will afterwards be appealed to as proof that the League could not succeed because men did not trust it. A bold "Act of Political Faith" in the League will justify itself by making the League a success; but, equally, lack of faith will justify itself by ruining the League.

Just as the general acceptance of the principles of the League must precede the territorial settlement, so must it precede attempts to reduce armaments. The League should not be, in the first stage, a proposal to relinquish arms, but to combine them; it should be an agreement upon the methods by which they can be used in common for common security. The League of Nations is not an alternative to the use of force, but the organization of force to the end that it may be effective for our common protection.

If nations can be brought to realize that they can in truth look to the League as the main guaranty of political security and economic opportunity, that those things do not demand unwilling provinces as sources of man power or raw material, nor seaports as a condition of economic development, then one of the main obstacles to the liberation of subject nationalities will have been removed, and the solution of the specific problems of Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, Bohemia, Jugoslavia, and the self-determination of the peoples of Turkey and Russia, will have been enormously facilitated.

The administrative machinery of a workable internationalism already exists in rudimentary form. The international bodies that have already been established by the Allied belligerents—who now number over a score—to deal with their combined military resources, shipping and transport, food, raw materials,

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and finance, have been accorded immense powers. Many of these activities—particularly those relating to the international control of raw material and shipping—will have to be continued during the very considerable period of demobilization and reconstruction which will follow the war. Problems of demobilization and civil re-employment particularly will demand the efficient representation of Labor and Liberal elements of the various states. With international commissions, and exercising the same control over the economic resources of the world, an international Government with powerful sanction will in fact exist.

The international machinery will need democratization as well as progressive differentiation of function. If the League of Nations is not to develop into an immense bureaucratic union of Governments instead of a democratic union of peoples, the elements of (*a*) complete publicity and (*b*) effective popular representation must be insisted upon. The first of these is implicit in the principle, so emphasized by President Wilson, that in the future there must be an end to secret diplomacy. The second can only be met by some representation of the peoples in a body with legislative powers over international affairs—which must include minority elements—as distinct from the Governments of the constituent states of the League. It is the principle which has found expression in the American Union as contrasted with the Federated States of the German Empire. If the Government of the United States consisted merely of the representatives of forty-eight states, the Union could never have been maintained on a democratic basis. Happily it consists also of the representatives of a hundred million people. The new international Government must make the same provision and deliberately aim to see that all the great parties and groups in the various states obtain representation.

The assurance of the political, civil, religious, and cultural rights of minorities within states is an even more difficult problem. But genuinely democratic parliamentary institutions in the League, insuring some expression of minority opinion as well as complete publicity, will be a strong deterrent if not a complete assurance against tyrannical treatment of minorities within its constituent states.

Indispensable to the success of American policy are at least the following:

A universal association of nations based upon the principle that the security of each shall rest upon the strength of the whole, pledged to uphold international arrangements giving equality of political right and economic opportunity, the association to be based upon a constitution democratic in character, possessing a central council or parliament as truly representative as possible of all the political parties in the constituent nations, open to any nation, and only such nation, whose Government is responsible to the people. The formation of such an association should be an integral part of the settlement itself and its problems, and not distinct therefrom. It should prohibit the formation of minor leagues or special covenants, or special economic combinations, boycotts, or exclusions. Differences between members should be submitted to its judicial bodies. Its administrative machinery should be built up from the inter-allied bodies already in existence, expanded into international bodies differentiated in function and democratized in constitution. The effective sanction of the association should not be alone the combined military power of the whole used as an instrument of repression, but such use of the world-wide control of economic resources as would make it more advantageous for a state to become and remain a member of the association and to coöperate with it, than to challenge it.

All the principles above outlined are merely an extension of the principles that have been woven into the fabric of our own national life.

In search of freedom, our forefathers turned their faces to the West, set out across the Atlantic, and laid the foundations of an American commonwealth. Even in the free spaces of the New World they could not attain independence, unity, and democracy, in such measure as we now possess them, without struggle. It has remained for our generation, with these things not wholly achieved, to turn our faces toward the East and set out overseas across the Atlantic to aid the peoples from whom we sprang to achieve those things in the midst of the more rigid social fabric of the Old World, and against the forces of despotism, autocracy, imperialism, privilege, and militarism, which found their supreme embodiment in the Prussian scheme of world dominion.

In war and in settlement we stand for the principles which have shot through each of the great epochs of American struggle. In our War of the Revolution, in which we ourselves struck for independence and nationality, we established tradition which prompts us to stand for the freedom and self-determination of the weaker peoples; for restoration and reparation for Belgium and Servia; a united and independent Poland; justice to the peoples of Alsace-Lorraine; recognition of the Czecho-Slovaks and Jugoslavs; the freedom of the Russian Revolution to achieve its own destiny. And in our championship, through the Monroe Doctrine, of the lesser American states, we supported in one hemisphere this fundamental principle which we now urge as a basis for both.

. . . In our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Emancipation Proclamation, the New World has offered documents which have contributed to the organized freedom of mankind, and in President Wilson's state papers we have the elements of a new charter. At a time when deep-seated forces of reaction would hamper a democratic solution and assert the old schemes of competitive militarism, of economic wars after the war, of division and bitterness and unhealed sores, such as will breed further wars and rob this one of its great culmination, we call on all liberal-minded men to stand behind the principles which the President has enunciated, and we invite them to join in fellowship with us for their realization.

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New Poetry and New America

By G. R. ELLIOTT

IN its chief ideas our new poetry is the result, not, as our leading poets assume, of a departure from the social outlook which dominated the poetry of the past century, but of a devolution which went on within the confines of that outlook. Whitman was a great national poet in that he represented more completely than any other an important phase of the American national spirit, a phase which will soon be generally regarded as belonging to our ancient history. His democratic individualism, his kindly egotism, was indeed characteristic of the nineteenth-century mind in general; but it was especially characteristic of the national mind of America. Our belief in "the divine average" was then at its height. Ordinary men from everywhere had flocked hither and, with no sense of submission to extraordinary men or extraordinary principles, were managing to live together in a degree of freedom and harmony previously deemed impossible. The sharp internal divisions of which we are now conscious were still cloaked. It seemed that a great national unity, nay, that the international unity of human society, might be built up on the natural desires of the average man. This optimism was heightened by the result of the Civil War. When Whitman sang in 1865, "Be not disheartened, affection shall solve the problems of freedom yet," he was voicing a national creed. That vision of justice as the necessary complement of affection, which the nation had caught during the division of South and North, was easily submerged by the democratic emotionalism of the century.

Whitmanism joined hands with another great phase of our national life. Materialism became a positive social movement of the civilized world in the second half of the nineteenth century, and in America it assumed an aspect peculiarly national, for the reason that it was here disjoined from the various traditional idealisms with which it became amalgamated in older countries. How materialism became associated in Germany, during this period, with an old and baneful national ideal is now fully apparent. In America, it became amalgamated with the democratic individualism voiced by Whitman; and the poet himself pointed the way. Discarding, as untrue for the new democracy, the old Puritan antithesis of body and soul, he undertook to weave the body and soul of America inextricably together in song, after the pattern in which he believed they were being permanently woven together in actuality. Whitman saw the vast material life of our country indissolubly merged in a vast spirit of kindness, a spirit flowing irresistibly up through the actions of the average man when he gives free play to his natural self. And indeed, the national idea of America, the idea in which was focused whatever national unity of outlook we then possessed, became that of a kindly and materialistic individualism. Free from the restrictions and divisions of old history, all men were here to pursue, in the spirit of peace and benevolence, all the goods of life, primarily the material goods. Here was the pattern which old Europe, persuaded merely by our example, must learn to follow.

Blinded by his idealism, Whitman never realized how fully the average man, when he lets himself go, is absorbed by material aims; how largely he is governed by the brutal selfishness of Mother Earth as well as her kindliness; and how impotent is that kindliness, in itself, as a remedy for that selfishness. Whitman's blindness was an extreme form of a national dimness of perception. Insensibly our national kindness was becoming an empty fetich; for many, it became a vaporing which perniciously disguised from them the selfish materialism which was hardening in our national spirit. Under this vaporing, clear-sighted common-sense was uneasy. It saw that there was truer ground in the low but firm ideal of sheer material efficiency; and yet it could not be satisfied with this as an adequate national ideal. In short, the nation was groping for the way in which it was to go, and was indeed approaching that way. For all of us can now see that the present strength of national purpose in America is by no means entirely the creation of the war. Its necessary premise was a re-growth of idealism which was taking place before the war was thought of, and which came about in reaction from the materialistic frame of mind which had settled upon us in the last part of the nineteenth century. "The real truth," Miss Lowell well observes, "is that at a time when most people were bewailing the growth of materialism, already, beneath the surface, the seething of a new idealism was in process."* One outcome of this fresh wave of idealism was the new movement in American poetry which, though it has won public recognition only within the last decade, was really at work much earlier. Here, then, was the radical point of connection between the new poetry and the new America.

But from this point, unfortunately, the ways of the two diverged. Briefly stated, the situation was this: our new poetry looked back to the ideal of kindness developed by Whitman and his age, while the nation was looking forward to a renewed ideal of justice. Needs which the present war has set clearly in the foreground of the national consciousness were already, twenty years ago, looming large in the background. In foreign affairs, the Spanish-American War was a blunt intimation that we needed to revise our attitude of genial passivity. At home, the class interests of capital and labor, complicated by the problem of native and foreign born and heavily accentuated by the prevailing materialism of outlook, had become unmistakably menacing. It was becoming apparent to the national mind that social and political conditions which had previously been thought of as attainable through merely expanding the scope of the natural affections, were impossible without a concomitant discipline of those affections in the sterner service of justice. The new national idealism was laboriously seeking the path of the twentieth century; but the new poetic idealism flowed easily back into the path of the nineteenth century.

For while all idealism is a fluent and formless thing which wins its shape entirely from the vessel of ideas into which it is poured, poetic idealism is continually the quickest and least circumspect of all in choosing its vessel, since the immediate aim of the artistic impulse is to win form—inner as well as outer form. Therefore Miss Lowell only partially recalls the history of poetry when she maintains

*Amy Lowell: "Tendencies in Modern American Poetry" (1917).

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that "poets are always the advance guard of literature, the advance guard of life." Poets are often the rear guard of life: for, urged by the exigency of their art, they seize upon an old mental vessel when they cannot find a new one. Now, a quarter of a century ago when our new poetic idealism, as Miss Lowell says, "took on a shape hidden away in the dreams and desires of unknown men," there was no clear vessel of national ideas into which it could pour itself; our new national frame of mind was then quite inchoate. Therefore the new poetic spirit, in so far as it strove to be anything more than personal and local, flowed into the Whitmanian mould of thought, which was still at hand, though decadent. Ideas in their decadence take on a certain narrow inflexibility. This is what happened, for instance, to the Elizabethan idea of "the complete gentleman" when it reached the hands of Pope and his school. This is what has happened, in the hands of our new poets, to the nineteenth-century idea of kindly individualism.

Certainly our present national purpose demands, at its best, not that the store of democratic kindness which we have accumulated shall be rejected; but that we shall conserve it and turn it into effectual modes by applying to it principles of just control. But our new poetry, blind to those principles, presents the spectacle of nineteenth-century kindness petering out and running to waste. This spectacle may be best illustrated from the work of Mr. James Oppenheim, since he renders most deliberately and completely the ethics of our new poetry.* He gives himself in turn to every wave of kindly emotion that comes along, and is not watching for those stars which could guide him toward the port for which the American spirit is now making. At one moment he exclaims, "Here is strength, here in my own breast"; at another moment, "Why am I restless? —I think I am trying to run from myself." From one to the other of these two opposite points of the compass, and through many intermediate directions, swings the arrested voyaging of our new poetry.

In his recurrent mood of kindly egotism, Mr. Oppenheim is the sage of the *genre* well represented by Mr. Louis Untermeyer's vigorous "Challenge" (1916), the poetry of the insurgent self which challenges life while insisting upon its own kinship with life. Closely related to this is the poetry which, in more subdued vein, commemorates the subtle and evanescent longings of the self, the poetry which says, in the words of Fannie Stearns Davis:

> The Moods have laid their hands across my hair:
> The Moods have drawn their fingers through my heart.

For whether subdued or strenuous, the new poets evince continually the basic Whitmanian mood which they cultivate in common. It is the mood in which Whitman could sing insistently of "one's-self" and in the same breath "utter the word Democratic, the word En-Masse." The necessary condition of this mood was a dulling of the old religious consciousness of a clear division between the lower and the higher self: between the lower life which people "en-masse" can easily feel that they have in common, and the higher life to which individuals can rise only by a certain crucifixion of their common nature.

Accordingly the new poetry has not caught the new joy which is at work in the national heart, the joy which accompanies even a preliminary grasp of what Tennyson finely called the "faith that comes of self-control." The joys of emotional expansion are rendered by the new poetry, and often with keen original beauty. But, as continually in the history of nineteenth century verse, these joys are interlarded with streaks of pessimism; and the pessimistic streaks have become thicker and blacker with the decay of the nineteenth-century spirit. That optimistic faith in men's natural impulses which burned so whitely in the poetry of Shelley and Emerson, and so redly in the poetry of Whitman, has been sadly dulled with fuel of plain fact. Mr. Oppenheim, for instance, is sharply aware of the gross evils of which our natural emotions are capable. In this mood, his muse is cousin to the philosophical pessimism of Mr. Edwin Arlington Robinson; to the quiet drama of decay which recurs in Mr. Robert Frost's rendering of New England life; and to the black sketchings which Mr. Edgar Lee Masters jots upon the pages of the West. In this darker mood Mr. Oppenheim gives ethical formulation to the spirit of energetic progress which traverses our new poetry. He repudiates the soft methods of progress cultivated by "our steam-heated civilization." He reminds us of all the horrors which live under the thin varnish of that civilization, and demands a stern revision of our social outlook: "Away with the soft ideals: brace yourself with bitterness." In this vein, and often with eloquent power, he approaches our present national temper. But he fails to grasp it; he fails to come out of the charmed circle of nineteenth-century ideas. Our present national temper, at its truest, is that of kindness seasoning justice. But our poet proposes a mere swinging from softness to energy, a kind of swinging which involves a vast waste of democratic kindness (not to speak of democratic energy), instead of that conservation of it which the national purpose now demands. Such reaction from softness to hard energy had its root in Whitman himself, and throve in the poetry of the later nineteenth century, appearing, for example, in the works of George Meredith and W. E. Henley. It reached its poetic extreme in the prose-poetry of Nietzsche, and its political extreme in the recent policy of Germany. But the contrary mood is equally native to Mr. Oppenheim. We find him:

> Sinking back into rough good commonness, just a laugher and idler myself,
> Warming the hands and heart of my soul at the blazing hearth of the people——
> And my lung-bellows roaring in the jolly fellowship of the world.

Here he is close to such as Mr. Bynner and Mr. Lindsay, whose faith in common brotherhood is more ethereal and less interrupted. Indeed, the pendulum of the new poetry swings easily back and forth between softness and energy, since its balance-wheel, the dogmatic faith in natural emotion, ticks to kindly sentiment and urgent force in rotation.

That dogmatic faith comprises, as already suggested, a doctrine of regeneration. The most vivid and popular embodiment of this doctrine was Mr. Masefield's "The Everlasting Mercy" (1911); but the poem's underlying idea runs through the length and breadth of the new poetry in both England and America, and has come forward more insistently in recent years. Certainly, the times cry out for regeneration; and through the avenue of this idea, our new poetry may well approach the national heart of America. But its steps so far have been only preliminary. Its call to salvation amounts to this: our great need at the present time is that we should face, more frankly than ever

*James Oppenheim: "Songs for the New Age," etc.

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before, our destructive desires, and in thus facing them learn to master them. In facing those desires the new poetry, as already stated, has shown itself adept and vivid. But what is its notion of mastering them? The firmest answer to this question that I have been able to find in many volumes of new poetry is this of Mr. Oppenheim:

Be what you are;
Then you can take your desires and lift them and harness them;
Men that can harness Niagara can harness gluttony. . . .

The idea of putting on harness is so rare in our new poetry, and so prominent just now in our national state of mind, that one accepts it here with gratitude. If Mr. Oppenheim could only learn what the word harness means he would be in a fair way toward writing, or helping others to write, some fine national poetry. But unfortunately he has no more notion than his colleagues of what the word really means. The race-horses of desire run through the whole course of his poetry bare-backed and without bridles. All thought of being harnessed in the sense of being controlled, either from within or from without, is expressly repudiated by the author again and again. In the code of Mr. Oppenheim and his colleagues, harnessing our desires means expanding them in such a way that, by an inexplicable transformation, our evil desires turn into good desires. The trouble lies here: our new poets are still so busy discarding the romantic periphery of Shelleyan idealism that they fail to realize how deeply their feet still stick in the romantic centre of it. They keep on extravagantly wooing nature and extravagantly repudiating human convention. The prevailing creed of anti-conventionalism is perhaps most striking in the poetry of Miss Amy Lowell, since she pursues, more open-mindedly than any other present American poet, the purely æsthetic aim. She wishes to be tied by no dogma. But as a matter of fact she is tied to the dogma of anti-conventionalism. It is the single unifying theme which runs through all her volumes, providing the substance of some of her best poems (such as "Patterns") and of some of her worst. So fixed has the cult become! Mr. Frost, unconsciously but inevitably, gives the text of it in opening his "North of Boston": "Something there is that doesn't love a wall." That something is surely the spirit of our new poetry. Its hatred of the walls of human convention has itself become conventional. It is no longer the spontaneous poetic outbreak of a century ago, voicing a spontaneous social outbreak, against dead conventions which had become intolerable. It is now a decadent cult-concept lingering on into a new age which, from that wreck of old conventions accomplished by the nineteenth century, is striving in agony to build human convention afresh. To chafe at conventions is always the prerogative of poetry, and of the poetic spirit in all men. But to chafe at conventions is one thing, and to ignore the reality of the convention-making power in human nature is quite another thing. Blindly to ignore that power at the present time, and to have no voice for it, simply means damnation for our new poetry from the standpoint of our new America.

The new poetry's anti-conventionalism joins hands with its cult of regeneration. For example, in the title poem of her charming volume "Myself and I," Fannie Stearns Davis identifies the unconventional self with the divine self. The volume as a whole is free from any conscious cult-purpose, and wishes to be just a tuneful record of the author's own moods. But so pervasive is the cult-spirit that the author is led by it, in giving the keynote of her book, to deny validity to the self which obeys convention, and to exalt the other self—the tendency in us to run wild after the impulses of nature—as "God's own spark in thee." The volume was published in 1913; next year, "God's own spark" set fire to the world, and the German chancellor threw a certain conventional scrap of paper into the flame. Here was sufficient symbol that the end of the age of anti-conventionalism was long over-due. But our new poets keep on celebrating the unconventional self as monopolist of the divine fire, and sole source of human regeneration. America has been shocked into a keen awareness that the passion for social regeneration, which America preëminently wishes to maintain, easily becomes degenerate when divorced from the controlling and divisive function of justice. But our American new poets have missed the shock, because they have been interposing between themselves and the war the buffer of a cult-idea long out of date. Before they can win national significance, they must regenerate their idea of regeneration.

An Enemy Hungers*

By THEODORE LYMAN WRIGHT

This is a Germany God went to seek
  Across her northern wild. Humbled and mild,
  Without her armor on, a hungry child
Bent to the strength that glorifies the weak,
At last—to inherit the earth she cometh—meek.

Up to Whose temple dare she wear to pray,
  Her vestment fringes with such battle tinges
  Of nameless staining? Still half-bold she cringes:
"I thank Thee I am not as others."—Nay,
But "Lord, have mercy on a sinner's way."

Out from her yet are hardly cast the seven—
  Or Legion—to their drove. No man can love
  This hater, made for hating; if, above,
God may forgive her from His distant heaven,
To us she lurks too near to be forgiven.

Among Christ's angels be there joy and haste
  Toward Magdalene repenting, for the relenting
  Of red Salome, and for Judith tenting
Too long in wanton's scarlet on the waste
That war's obscenities have drenched unchaste.

The weariness of History is long;
  Perhaps one thousand years and God's own tears
  Shall quench the frightfulness of fires and fears
For sinned-against and sinner, till the wrong,
Deathless to-day, may die in deathless song;

For, with her, yet unshrapneled, rich, she brings
  New Schillers, Kants, late-born un-militants,
  Bachs, and more sober Wagners, for the chants
Of wiser nations when the Volk-voice sings
More kingly futures for their discrowned kings.

*In a letter accompanying this poem Professor Wright writes: "I find in a notebook of mine, jotted down in Berlin quite two years earlier than the fatal 1914, this sentence: 'Is there any German man who can ever sincerely repeat the Beatitude, *Blessed are the meek, for they*, etc.'? Now in these later thoughtful days of post-war din I've just put into verse a too vague answer to my own pre-war question."

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Correspondence

Peace and Disarmament

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: To-day when the ship of nations is coming into the harbor of peace, not only the pilot but every man on board will have to watch for mines laid, not by the known enemy, but by the militarists of all nations. Let us take care that the engine which we have built to destroy the German autocracy does not get beyond control and destroy us. Only a League of Nations can offer any prospect of permanent peace, and that only provided it is composed of nations which have disarmed or will disarm. If we would escape the collapse that has overtaken Russia and Germany, we shall have to take care that our Government does not fall into the arms of capital and the militaristic party. Far better is it to be a nation of poor people with peace rather than a state composed of rich men holding their wealth by force of arms.

JAS. E. ALLEN

Davis and Elkins College, November 18

The Printing Arts

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The point of my open letter in the *American Magazine of Art* has been overlooked both in your editorial, Art Education and Technical Training, and by Dr. Haney. I referred only to the graphic arts—and to only one branch of them—the printing arts. I stated that when the United States Government accepted the assistance of American artists in producing posters and organized a Division of Pictorial Publicity of the Committee on Public Information, and when the artists of the country went to work to make these posters, it was discovered that out of the very large number—more than one hundred—there were only three or four who had any technical training in the arts of lithography and printing. It was discovered that most of the artists not only knew nothing about engraving and printing, but they cared nothing—and to what was this due? To the system of art teaching in this country, and nothing else. The so-called "artist" learns to draw and paint in schools, or is supposed to. But when he has acquired sufficient skill to express himself on canvas or paper with brush and pencil he thinks—and is told to think—his work finished; and finished it usually is in more senses than one. For there are limitations to the reproductive arts which must be considered by the artist; yet owing to his utter lack of training he is ignorant of them. The engraver and the printer are, as I have said, equally ignorant of art. And between them they produce the work we see around us, most of which is no credit to any one. There is only one way to remedy this. Start technical schools—or rather one technical school. For the reproductive arts are founded on definite laws and methods and can only be taught by highly trained specialists.

This is perfectly well known in Europe, where in each country there is a school which attracts students because its teachers know their trade and teach it in the right way. You advocate, I understand, that there should be no Government school, and Dr. Haney proposes that the manufacturers should run these schools—because they know what they want. Yes, they know exactly what they want and what they want the people to want; but they know nothing of art—and in many cases nothing of the craft of which they make use for their own profit. It was this state of affairs—the work that was being done by the manufacturers—that caused the Society of Illustrators in April, 1917, to send to Washington a committee headed by Mr. Gibson to point out to the Government the condition of the reproductive arts in the country and the work that was being done by the manufacturers. Now there are two ways of getting better work done. Either the Architectural League must carry out its scheme for technical education working with the Federation of Arts, or, better, the Government must start a school managed by trained artists and craftsmen.

We must work with the manufacturers, or rather they must work with us, and it is only by such coöperation that we shall get artists and craftsmen who can compete with the artists of the world.

JOSEPH PENNELL

Philadelphia, October 22

How the Nation Reads History

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of November 2 there is on page 506 a paragraph commendatory of the Bolsheviki which ends as follows: "They have gone out of their way, too, to honor twenty-four foreigners, including Marx, Engels, Bebel and Jaurès, Tiberius Gracchus, Robespierre, Marat and Danton—as if men like Lenine and Trotzky could have read history!"

This makes me wonder to what effect the *Nation* has read history. Paris puts up statues of many kinds of notabilities, but where in that city can one find a public statue of Robespierre or of Marat? Are we to understand that the *Nation* approves the erection of monuments to these two men and takes this act as evidence that the Bolsheviki are *not* "savage" and "bloodthirsty"?

EDWIN H. HALL

Cambridge, Mass., November 7

Washington Irving as Uncle

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Among your readers there may be relatives of Washington Irving who will recognize some of the persons referred to in this cheery letter, which is my most precious possession. It bears no date, but a pencilled memorandum shows that it was written in 1836.

CHAS. J. FINGER

Richwood, Ohio, October 9

"Greenburgh Sunday Dec 18

"My dear Sarah:

"The storm on Saturday caused us all a terrible disappointment, for we had been looking out confidently for you and Alice and John had been bussying themselves to put all things in order against your arrival.

"This morning John has been down to Dobb's ferry with the waggon, for I was partly in hopes you and Kate would come up: but I find you are too good girls to travel on Sunday, with the thoughts of which I console myself.

"I have determined however, to send John over to squire you both up to morrow morning, for I believe he takes almost as much interest in your arrival as I do myself. I should have come down myself, but for three or four days past I have been somewhat out of order, having caught a severe cold by keeping too much in warm corners, writing all day and taking no exercise. I have need of you here to induce me to take long walks in the open air.

"Oscar and Catherine have been passing two or three days with us. They left us yesterday, but I expect a longer visit from them in the course of the winter.

"I have sad news to tell you. My geese have all disappeared & the duck with them. What has become of them, no one can tell — Whether they have gone off for a long cruise or been captured. Mr. Lawrence, with his accustomed shrewdness, strongly suspects the duck to be at the bottom of it, and seems to think he was a traitor in the camp — a mere decoy duck — but I will not give way to such an ungenerous suspicion. I have fixed my faith on that duck as firmly as Wallenstein did on old Piccolomini: but I hope I may not, like him be deceived.

"Thank Fortune, Fanny and Imp still remain; though I understand the latter, in one of her nightly wanderings, came near being shot by Mr. Jones for a skunk! There would have been a catastrophe!

"Tell your mother that Peter is in excellent condition and manages to play his part at every meal. I take care, as usual to give him a double portion of everything. Tell her I have of late relieved him from all the coughing and taken it upon myself — I know this will please her.

"You will find some of his shirts &c in a small bundle in a ( ) drawer of the clothes press in the small room. Let John bring them up.

"I expect your brother Irving will pay the cottage a visit in the holydays, and pass as much of his time here as he finds pleasant. Make any other arrangements you think proper to render the house cheerful for you during the holyday season.

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I hope Mary Kemble and Rebecca M'Lane will make you a visit in the course of the winter — the sooner the better.

"When will your uncle Eben come up? We long to see him here again.

"Give my love to all.

"Your affectionate uncle

"Miss Sarah S Parit"(?) "Washington Irving

Joel Barlow's Prophecy

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Before going to the peace conference our representatives might be edified and inspired by rereading the "Columbiad," in which Joel Barlow has a vision of the parliament of man and federation of the world, antedating Tennyson's by some forty years. In this great epic, as all those well read in American poetry will remember, Barlow represents Hesper, the Spirit of the Western World, showing to the aged Columbus "the rising glory of America." Inspired by a life-long passion for liberty, Barlow, in his final Book (X), rises to large poetic prophecy. He sees "in general congress meet the legates of all empires," their meeting place being a "peace-palace," not at the Hague, but on the banks of the Nile. The palace is beautifully described. Hither the "delegated sires" bring all the emblems of old error, and fling them on the scrap-heap—

> Swords, sceptres, mitres, crowns and globes and stars,
> Codes of false fame and stimulants to wars.

A full paragraph is worth quoting:

> Now the full concourse, where the arches bend,
> Pour through by thousands and their seats ascend.
> Far as the centred eye can range around
> Or the deep trumpet's solemn voice resound,
> Long rows of reverend sires sublime extend,
> And cares of worlds on every brow suspend.
> High in the front, for soundest wisdom known,
> A sire elect in peerless grandeur shone:
> He open'd calm the universal cause,
> To give each realm its limit and its laws,
> Bid the last breath of tired contention cease
> And bind all regions in the league of peace;
> Till one confederate, condependent sway
> Spread with the sun and bound the walks of day,
> One centred system, one all-ruling soul
> Live through the parts and regulate the whole.

By way of textual criticism we might note that in the words "sire elect" President Wilson seems prophetically indicated; that the poet avoids the word "nations," preferring the word "regions"; that the phrase "league of peace" has stuck; and that the word "condependent," though not in the Oxford Dictionary, is pregnant with meaning. F. C. P.

Ithaca, N. Y., November 18

A Protest

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: I have been reading the two articles in the *Nation* of November 9: "Justice to War's Heretics" and "The Faith of a Heretic," and I am overwhelmed at the punishments awarded to the men whose conscientious objections and other reasons have brought them under sentence—punishments to which the only parallel is the treatment of the Armenians by the Turks. Can nothing be done to release them from further suffering? How can we celebrate the overthrow of Germany if we are guilty of such outrages? Harriet E. Bush

Watertown, Mass., November 9

Fallible Infallibility

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: I note with interest Mr. Louis Hood's (How's) letter in the *Nation* of October 12, touching a misspelling of the Spanish proper name Alarcón, which the *Nation's* reviewer transformed into Alarçon. The correction of so weird a lapsus was indeed called for. But Mr. How might have gone farther, and shown that Spanish literature has not recently been accorded by the *Nation* the expert treatment that one expects to find in its pages. Passing over such minor slips as Roélas for Roelas (vol. CVI, p. 256) and Henriquez for Henríquez (vol. CV, p. 176), it is a little harder to condone the metamorphosis of the novelist Pío Baroja into Pio de Baroja (vol. CVI, p. 265), for the addition of the particle lends this rude plebeian an incongruous quasi-noble air; or to overlook the impossible omission of the first family name in speaking of the charming brother playwrights as Serafín and Joaquín Quintero (for Álvarez Quintero: vol. CIV, p. 275). Still worse is the misspelling eight times in one column of the name Benavente (not Benevente: vol. CV, p. 264), an error truly inexcusable if one considers that this author is the best-known writer of Castilian plays now before the public, and a figure of world importance.

Must one infer that the *Nation* has not yet mastered, in things Spanish, the authoritative note which distinguishes it in so many branches of human knowledge?

S. Griswold Morley

University of California, October 23

The Catholepistemiad

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In Professor Anderson's very interesting article entitled "University of Michigania" in the *Nation* of November 9, dealing with the nomenclature of the sciences by Judge Woodward and others, there is an error which perhaps should not be overlooked.

In the first sentence reference is made to "the strange terminology of the act of 1817 of the Territorial Legislature of Michigan creating the 'University of Michigania' or the 'Catholepistemiad'." In the interest of bibliographic accuracy it should be understood that there was no Territorial Legislature in Michigan at that period nor until the "Council" of 1824-5. The act establishing the University of Michigania was "enacted by the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Michigan," William Woodbridge, A. B. Woodward, and John Griffin.

There is no doubt as to the authorship of the wonderful act, as the Library of the University of Michigan possesses the original draft, with certain changes and corrections, in Judge Woodward's handwriting. Byron A. Finney

University of Michigan, November 16

A Well-Bred Lack

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: If your correspondent on "Army English" (October 26) will look into the matter further he will find that the slurring or abandoning the pronunciation of the "r" in such words as catcher, pitcher, heart, more, car, and runner, is not an American peculiarity. A similar dropping of "r" characterizes the speech of the "families of Southern English persons whose men-folk have been educated at the great public boarding-schools. . . . It is probably accurate to say that a majority of those members of London society who have had a university education, use either this pronunciation or a pronunciation not differing very greatly from it." This quotation is from the Pronouncing Dictionary of Daniel Jones.

W. H. Shockley

Palo Alto, California, November 7

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Your correspondent, Norvelle Wallace Sharpe, who writes on Army English in your issue of October 26, seems to ascribe the elision of final *r* in the English speech of young men in the army, in part at least, to "the slovenliness that is so frankly an American characteristic." But is not the usage rather English than American? I believe that it is much more common in England, among all classes, than in America.

The loss of the *r* sound would be a distinct loss to the language, and it seems to me that our English cousins are in a fair way to lose it. Is there an Englishman living who can pronounce such a sentence as this, "There are four bears here"?

Geneva, N. Y., November 16 R.

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Books for Children

CHILDREN should have to buy their own books, and so far as possible to buy them with their own money. What book can compare in the estimation of the eight-year-old with "Fossils and Prehistoric Animals," on the fly-leaf of which he has written "Independently purchased at the Museum of Natural History"? But it would be an unrewarding experiment to turn a child loose amid the book counters of a department store. He needs a wise consulting expert. A valuable educational experiment in this direction has been tried this fall at the New York Public Library. Miss Annie Carroll Moore, director of the Children's Libraries, has held a series of evening conferences on children's books in which publishers, booksellers, librarians, teachers, and parents have coöperated. The more nearly the publisher and bookseller approach the librarian's point of view, the sooner may the child be entrusted with the spending of his own book money. Such action is already advisable at a place like the Boys' and Girls' Bookshop in Boston (maintained by the Womens' Educational and Industrial Union, and therefore not commercially minded). It takes more time than most parents can spare, however, to follow the rapid increase of children's books and to make wise selections; for their help the season's output has been carefully examined and briefly noted.

First of all come the tiny folk, and more thought should be spent on the selection of their books than on those of all the rest of the family combined.[1] All bad little children who object to parents and other stern necessities should read about Dickey-didn't-mean-to and Billy-forgot and profit by their experiences. The amusing "Howtobegood Stories" were evidently written by a mother grown wise in bringing up "bad" youngsters of her own. If they prefer good playmates they will enjoy Polly and her wishing ring, which, in an unusual way, helped a little girl to bring happiness to those about her; or Melissa-across-the-fence, a lonely child who by writing on her blackboard at the window made friends with an invalid neighbor, from whom she was separated by a wide yard but narrow conventions. This is a pretty, simple, and touching story, and the picture of the dressmaker's little daughter and the rich man's convalescent boy playing Indian by "absent treatment" is decidedly original. "Little Miss Grasshopper" is a livelier child; she is not depressed at becoming a classic. Johanna Spyri's children are always good company, satisfactory to young readers and to parents alike. Then there is lovable Evelyn, who was sometimes so bad that she "snippeted up" her plaid dress for the insides of a soldier's pillow; her adventures are told by Miss White in "The Blue Aunt," which is almost, though not quite, as nice as "When Molly Was Six." Miss Curtis introduces a cheerful new sister in the Little Maid series, and Miss Abbott has lavished on "Keineth" a wealth of incident which would have supplied some authors with four serial volumes.

An attractive piece of bookmaking is "The Little House in the Woods." Cover and illustrations, the rather inadequately acknowledged work of Mabel B. Hill, perhaps carry off the honors. Beside this stands one outwardly as appetizing and inwardly full of flavor and happiness, depicting wholesome family life enlivened by irrepressible twins and an obstreperous French baby (being tolerated as "war work"). "Little Allies" will not be left wholly to the younger members of the family. There will be no undue clamor for the fourth of the "Three Gays" series, though it is a well-intentioned, cheerfully commonplace gathering of fairly pleasant young folks. A far better family story is "Five in a Ford." "Elizabeth Bess" and her affairs are of more interest to grownups than to children; which is not to be regretted, as the vicious style of the book and its amazing use of italics and exclamations are deplorable. Happily war propaganda books need concern us no longer. "The French Twins" may be set aside with the hope that Mrs. Perkins's next book may scatter seeds of brotherhood instead of hate.

There are two editions of Mother Goose; one is a handy little volume which a child may enjoy without depending on stronger hands to manage the unwieldy bulk so often a hindrance in children's books. The colored pictures by Jessie Willcox Smith are captivating, especially Peter-Peter-Pumpkin-Eater, and Rain-Rain-go-away. The black-and-white drawings suffer, as do the color plates, by indifferent workmanship unfair to the artist. Perhaps the poorest illustrations that have been forced on Mother Goose for a long time are those by Edith R. Wilson. Another book to be avoided for its poor illustrations, as well as its wretched English and the spirit in which it is conceived, is "Limpy-toes' Attic Home." In the illustrations of a new reprint of the "Child's Garden of Verses" Americanization seems carried to extremes when Stevenson's "pleasant land of counterpane" is set forth as a down-East patchwork quilt. What must be the surprise of the sedately British, though "friendly cow, all red and white" to be fed with cornstalks! There comes one limping after the immortal child in the garden, but with what a halting, shambling gait does the author of "The Shining Ship" follow Stevenson! The most decorative book of the season is "Jane, Joseph and John," with its merry verses of modern child life and exquisite illustrations by Maurice Day.

Fairy stories[2] should really be the property of the whole family. Undoubtedly Arthur Rackham's pictures are ideal illustrations for Grimm's Fairy Tales, with their strong contrasts between beauty and ugliness, and their haunting impishness. Yet it is a question whether children find in them more delight than dread; they are too fraught with nightmare possibilities to be safe for bedtime. Mr. Rackham has laid such a curse on innocent trees that an old willow tree makes the heart stand still. It is a pity that an adult phantasy should people a child's world with hideous imaginings, especially as the same brain so often evokes beauty. But most of these richly furnished editions of children's books are for drawing-room use. The little book that fits a pocket is the one to be read in the appletree. A second fairy book illustrated by Mr. Rackham is "English Fairy Tales," where as usual he is at his best—and worst, with a strong tendency towards the latter. It is strange that he gave no welcome to St. George, who is here happily included with the old fellowship of giant-killers.

It is easy for Brownies, perhaps, to leap the gap between Arthur Rackham and Palmer Cox. Grotesqueness is in the mode, and overwhelms the original ludicrousness of the Brownies. Though old friends may still be recognized among them, the new ones make little appeal, and the plain prose of the present is a poor substitute for merry jingles of the past.. Another old friend not improved by new dress is Br'er Rabbit, who steps forth in perfectly correct (and colorless) English, under the title of "Old Crow and His Friends," after the version told by red men instead of black. A realistic and uninspired type of fairy story is "The Wonderful Land of Up."

Dutch Fairy Tales are pretty human, and these fairly clump along in homely Holland fashion. Perhaps the happiest is the tale of the Japanese sprite accidentally shipped in a lacquer box to Holland, with a gift from the great Tycoon to the Prince of the Dutch—for Doctor Griffis's affections divide between Japan and Holland. Spain and Holland afford the expected contrasts in their fairy tales—the Spanish ones are crowned with richness of color and a wealth of roses. The trickery and meanness of more primitive recitals is here agreeably replaced by a spirit

[1] *Howtobegood Stories.* By Edith Cushing Derbyshire. Stokes. $1.50.
Polly and the Wishing Ring. By Margaret Johnson. Macmillan. 75 cents.
Melissa-Across-the-Fence. By Augusta Huiell Seaman. Century. $1.
Little Miss Grasshopper. By Johanna Spyri. Crowell. 50 cents.
The Blue Aunt. By Eliza Orne White. Houghton Mifflin. $1.25.
The Little House in the Woods. By C. W. Hunt. Houghton Mifflin. $1.35.
Little Allies. By Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale. Stokes. $1.50.
The Three Gays at the Old Farm. By Ethel C. Brown. Penn. $1.
The Loyalty of Elizabeth Bess. By E. C. Scott. Macmillan. $1.35.
The French Twins. By Lucy Fitch Perkins. Houghton Mifflin. $1.25.
Five in a Ford. By Mary P. Wells Smith. Little, Brown. $1.35.
A Little Maid of Old Connecticut. By Alice Turner Curtis. Penn. $1.
Keineth. By Jane D. Abbott. Lippincott. $1.25.
The Little Mother Goose. Drawings by Jessie Willcox Smith. Dodd, Mead. $1.
Everychild's Mother Goose. Pictures by Edith R. Wilson. Macmillan. $2.
Limpytoes' Attic Home. By Nellie M. Leonard. Crowell. 50 cents.
A Child's Garden of Verses. By Robert Louis Stevenson. Crowell. 50 cents.
The Shining Ship. By Isabel Ecclestone Mackay. Doran. $1.50.
Jane, Joseph, and John. By Ralph Bergengren. Illustrated by Maurice E. Day. Atlantic Monthly Press.

[2] *Little Brother and Little Sister.* Illustrated by A. Rackham. Dodd, Mead. $3.50.
English Fairy Tales. Illustrated by Arthur Rackham. Macmillan. $2.50.
The Brownies and Prince Florimel. By Palmer Cox. Century. $1.50.
Old Crow and His Friends. By Katharine B. Judson. Little, Brown. $1.35.
The Wonderful Land of Up. By Olive Roberts Barton. Doran. $1.50.
Dutch Fairy Tales. By William Elliot Griffis. Crowell. $1.25.
The Spanish Fairy Book. By Gertrudis Legovia. Stokes. $1.50.
Tales of Giants from Brazil. By Elsie Spicer Eells. Dodd, Mead. $1.35.
The Book of Elves and Fairies. By F. J. Olcott. Houghton Mifflin. $2.
The Boy Who Knew What the Birds Said. By Padraic Colum. Macmillan. $1.50.
The Sandman's Forest. By Louis Dodge. Scribners. $2.
Guld, the Cavern King. By Mary L. B. Branch: Boston. The Bookshop for Boys and Girls. $1.50.
A Little Boy Lost. By W. H. Hudson. Knopf. $1.50.

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of kindness. One of the most pleasing of the stories is that of the Tinkling Laughter, stolen from the lips of a princess. The illustrations, though colorful, show little imagination. According to Mrs. Eells's good stories, giants seem to flourish in mighty Brazil and the kindly climate softens their dispositions, so that we have a genial brotherhood instead of the dread ogres of the North. The animal playmates, too, are a welcome variant to our regulation dog, goat, and donkey, for when the Brazilian shepherd boy plays his violin he is followed by a monkey, a tapir, an ant-eater, a tiger, and an armadillo! Miss Olcott has a magical faculty for turning up hidden jewels and making starry crowns of them. In her "Book of Elves and Fairies" she has set gems from China, Wales, the Cornish coast, Ireland, and Bohemia, and all the haunts of elfin folk, and groups them in such alluring clusters as Elfin Mounds and Fairy Hills; Little Men and Treasures of Gold; Glad Little, Sad Little, Bad Little Elves, and Fairy Servants in the House.

Best of all the fairy books, in the sweep of free imagination, are the last four on the list. Padraic Colum's "The Boy Who Knew What the Birds Said" is of the true essence of fairy tales. Reading these, the child rides joyously on the wings of his spirit. May he read them once and again till their poetry and Irish savor make refrains in his memory. The last three fairy books concern themselves with the strange adventures of three very dear little boys. Jungle, deep sea, and forest combined in the right proportions make "The Sandman's Forest" most enticing, especially when illustrated by Paul Bransom. Giddy celebrates his fifth birthday by going to bed alone, which affords the Superstork just the chance to carry him off on his back to be royally welcomed in the Sandman's Forest by all the animals, from the elephant and tiger to the monkeys, which were good enough to settle once for all the vexed question of

Monkey, monkey, bottle of beer,
How many monkeys have we here?

by displaying on an electric sign the figures, 10,000. Giddy's adventures include an unpleasant encounter with two ill-bred cannibals who mystify him with their unusual sense of humor. The parent who reads the book aloud will find his special portion of pleasure in the way Giddy receives his birthday presents. Giddy—barring his name—is the kind of boy that any one would like to have.

A fascinating story is that of Guld, a boy growing up in dark caverns to be king of the kobolds. Not only are his adventures such as any lively lad would long for, but there is a delicious mystery about the dark ways of his underground kingdom, and a picturesqueness of detail very satisfying to a child reader. Back of this is something more, something that the child will hardly recognize at once, so much is it the fibre of the story; but there will grow in his mind a realization that Guld is the finest of fellows, that the lessons he learned were worth learning, that what he sought was ardently to be desired. It is rare indeed that the "moral"—to name it clumsily—is blended so essentially in a story that it is only its fragrance which betrays its presence. The wings of the imagination bear the "Little Boy Lost" through terrors and delights in South America, across yellow plains and burning deserts in quest of marvellous mirages, over the great Sierras to the sea. The absorbing mystery of nature draws the boy on, and eager minds go gladly where he goes. Though the scenes are those of Mr. Hudson's boyhood, the happenings are largely those of his childhood imagination—the adventures one would like to have had. But the poetry of the story and the vivid beauty of its style give it a texture far richer and more lasting than a mere fairy tale. Now that American children may know and love this book, they should be better judges of real books. For such a perfect jewel one craves a finer setting; far better let the mind picture the pages than clutter them with crude drawings.

No recent nature stories[3] are more delightful for children to hear told, or to read themselves, than those by H. Waddingham Seers, which form a dignified volume. Each story has been chosen with the definite aim of stimulating the interest of children in the world about them. The same stimulus is found in Mr. Bralliar's record of a boy's intimacy with ladybugs, daddy-longlegs, dancing junebugs, katydids, and doodlebugs. Adventures in miniature may be had, even in the suburbs, if we but observe these little people all about us. One is very reluctant to include among the nature books so unworthy an associate as Mr. Burgess's latest squirrel story. His vein is now so attenuated that large type and many capitals are required to piece out a volume. "Father Thrift" is well-meant and well-illustrated.

Outwardly one of the most attractive books of the season, the Trail Book sustains eager expectation. On the cover an Indian lad swings his bare feet from an overhanging cliff, while he caresses the great puma crouched beside him, and in the distance are cliff dwellings of mystery. What more delicious situation could a boy crave? The Museum of Natural History, where wonderful animals in their native habitats give one many a thrill, has inspired Miss Austin to tell the tale of the trails followed by prehistoric creatures and early man—trails which we sometimes follow still. The stories are told by the creatures themselves to two children who tiptoe among the glass cases at night. In view of these nocturnal disclosures, the Museum will become more than ever a childhood Mecca, and closing hour may have to be postponed till midnight.

Some people still write books which are intended to do children good.[4] Of these a typical example is "Little Tales of Common Things," told in a commonplace way that may possibly serve as a stopgap to the unresourceful teacher. By much pressure a little juice may be extracted from "Home Life Around the World," in spite of its numbered paragraphs and the irritating questions printed under the pictures. The "Story of Silk," on the contrary, is very well told. A beneficial little handbook is the "Child's Book of the Teeth," which has such amusing diagrams that the young reader may find toothbrushing a positive pleasure. The "How-to-do-it" type of book may be included in this group. Of these is the "Jolly Book of Funcraft," which bears the dismal subtitle of "an encyclopedia of fun." If Funcraft is too sophisticated, another Beard book contains the complete equipment for the would-be primitive man. In the "Book of Signs, Signals, and Symbols" patient search (there is no index) rewards one with signs of direction for use on the trail, "steamer toot-talk," railway signals, gesture language, and hand alphabets, with all manner of animal signs and picture writing. From this appetizing array one turns regretfully to "Handicraft for Boys." Must boys still struggle through the stages of scroll saw and bent-iron work, and are they still to be told, without challenge, that they can make "really clever pictures" by following three scant pages of instructions; or that it is desirable to make a so-called musical instrument known as the Chopin Tomato Can?

A few books,[5] upborne solely by spreadeagle "patriotism," include some reprints of stories from *St. Nicholas* with timely titles, and a couple of materialistic text-books for school. "My Country" bristles with a determined optimism in spite of actual conditions, urging America First with self-satisfied indifference to the rest of the world (except our present Allies). "I am an American" is more insidious and yet more brazen. But school books written in the heat of war time have short life and scant claim to serious attention.

Perhaps it is the problem of boys' books[6] which most vexes the overworked uncle in his annual selection. Counters are piled high with books of uniform size and price. How may one know which will bring the greatest value for his $1.35? One is sorely tempted to condemn the lot unread; but conscientious reading makes one condemn most of them with the more determination: stories of school life that fail to enlarge the horizon; scout books that fail to stimulate the imagination; adventures that do not convince; war as a pleasurable excitement. All the unwholesome qualities that may mar the life of a big high school in a great city—including hazing, initiations, tricky athletics, and snobbishness, are made to do duty as attractions at the "Lincoln High," where the rich young snob "enjoyed being hero-worshipped." In "Fighting for Fairview" Mr. Heyliger's influence is, as always, strong for democracy and fair play, but the

[3] *Nature Stories to Tell to Children.* By H. W. Seers. Dodd, Mead. $1.25.
Knowing Insects Through Stories. By Floyd Bralliar. Funk & Wagnalls. $1.60.
The Trail Book. By Mary Austin. Illustrated by Milo Winter. Houghton Mifflin. $2.
Father Thrift. By J. C. Sindelar. Beckly-Cardy. 50 cents.
Happy Jack. By Thornton W. Burgess. Little, Brown. $1.25.

[4] *Little Tales of Common Things.* By Inez N. McFee. Crowell. $1.25.
Home Life Around the World. By G. A. Mirick. Houghton, Mifflin. $1.50.
The Story of Silk. By Sara Ware Bassett. Penn. 90 cents.
A Child's Book of the Teeth. By H. W. Ferguson. World Book Co. 44 cents.
The Jolly Book of Funcraft. By Patten Beard. Stokes. $1.50.
American Boys' Book of Signals and Symbols. By D. Beard. Lippincott. $2.
Handicraft for Boys. By A. Frederick Collins. Stokes. $1.50.

[5] *Patriotism and the Flag. Courageous Girls. Every Day Heroes.* Retold from *St. Nicholas.* Century. 75 cents each.
I Am an American. By Sara Cone Bryant. Houghton, Mifflin. $1.25.

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story is thin. "The Big Game" is a much livelier appeal for clean college athletics. Philip Kent, now well advanced in the series bearing his name, is a nice boy, but his story is padded with trivial slangy conversation. It furnishes a welcome rarity, however—the German teacher is allowed to come into popularity—shooting into it as champion on skis. In the Sandsy series we have more slang and more bears (there is an amazing epidemic of bears in this season's suburban juvenile literature). In "Under Orders" the institutional church gets the better of the theatre and by means of Thrift Stamps converts a young cheat into a patriotic soldier. The "Boy Hikers" "do their bit for Uncle Sam" by wandering through New Jersey, discovering a German spy, and hiring out occasionally at high rates, thereby earning $500 for the Red Cross and $200 to "blow in" on the sights of New York. A selfish lad sets out on a triumphant quest for the treasure of "Lost Island." More likely and more desirable is the young hero of the Overland Stage, a boy with a sense of honor and responsibility, though his adventures are crudely told. The leading figure in "The Mystery of Ram Island" is unnecessarily a cad and snob. The fourth of the Ross Grant series shows the hero, now a medical student, involved in the bitter disputes of a mining camp. "Captain Ted" is even more unwholesome. An intolerable little prig runs away in his scout uniform into a southern swamp to find a camp of "slackers" hiding from the draft. By teaching Hooverism (urging the outlawed hunters not to waste bear's meat!) and by inveterately preaching hatred, the young scout succeeds in winning over the brutal "slackers"—to a fierce desire to "bag Huns." The boys of Mr. Barbour's creation find submarines, mines, Zeppelin raids, and bayonets but a slangy lark, just as Scout Drake learns it is "jolly fun riding a fighting tank." Two lurid hunts by boys for treasure, accompanied by incredible adventure and violent death, take place in Panama and Mexico.

Mr. Altsheler's work is, of course, on a different level. He is sure of his history and his background, and his readers will be likely to venture farther into historical fields. His work is remarkably even, almost too much so, for his stories have a regular though rapid movement, and there is a consanguinity about his characters. The "Lost Hunters" follows on the "Sioux Trail." The haunting dread of the great king wolf and his band, the "lords of creation," who tirelessly shadow the hunters through the forest, is well sustained to the end. The scene of "Masters of the Peaks" is in the French and Indian wars, ending with the massacre at Fort William Henry. Mr. Sabin has taken great pains to gather facts about the forty or more Indian men and women he presents, but a compulsion to condensation has reduced these figures to mere skeletons, which move jerkily on the wires of an abrupt and arid style. Far more readable is Dr. Eastman's book of sketches of Indian heroes and chieftains. Most of these were of Dr. Eastman's own Sioux tribe, and his close association with them affords a personal note of great value. Mr. Schultz acquired from his life with the Indians not only the intimate knowledge of their life which frames his writing, but the real art of the story teller. With perfect simplicity and directness his stories move on inevitably, yet with the suspense of a tale which must not be interrupted. "Lone Bull's Mistake" is probably as fine and true an Indian story as we are likely to have, as few are those left who knew and can write of their knowledge of old wild life on the plains. "Running Fox," though inspired by Schoolcraft and other Indian authorities, has a thrill on every page.

Quite by itself stands a book intended for boys, which will be claimed by girls with equal vehemence, "The Dogs of Boytown." More dog knowledge than most people ever encounter is to be found in these easy and sympathetic stories. Since the information is so authentic, the wooden illustrations are the more unfortunate. Every sort of dog that ever ran at a boy's side is here, so glowingly described that the reluctant parent may as well invest in a kennel when purchasing the book.

The stock of books for girls[7] is less overwhelming than the imposing array for their brothers. Perhaps on the theory that the thirst for detective stories is an acquired taste, and the younger one begins the better, Mrs. Seaman provides mystery stories for our young daughters. These are quite harmless, and yet one is reminded of the wise saying of a grandmother, "If children can acquire tastes, why not, instead of olives, a taste for winter vegetables?" "Three Sides of Paradise Green" will doubtless keep many schoolgirls awake after bedtime and set them to observing more closely the affairs of their neighbors. The boarding-school story apparently cannot graduate without turning into a love story, but in the case of "Nancy Lee's Namesake" that element could easily be eliminated. The rest of the story is wholesome and shows the value of coöperation. Budding romance of a fresh and natural type is supplied in the story of Dorothea, whose very modern fairy godmother gave her a glimpse of the world of balls and princes; but this Cinderella kept her unselfish spirit through ups and downs, even if she had to run away without even one slipper. Stories intended for "Misses' sizes" too often fall into the hands of little sisters; "Isabel Carleton's Friends," "Two Alike," and "Girls of '64" are suitable for girls quite old enough to read books more worth while.

As usual we find new editions[8] of old favorites. One of these is an inexpensive form of Edward Lear's "Book of Nonsense," which ought to be more familiar to American children. "Alice in Wonderland" is proof against the deadening influence of the schoolroom, but why affront the intelligence of young readers and the memory of Lewis Carroll by such a cautious and commonplace sketch of the author as is tagged on by Clifton Johnson as "editor"? The illustrations by Gertrude D. Hammond for the new Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare are dignified and rich in color, but the cover is so unpardonable that it cannot pass without rebuke. Just why "The Valiant Runaways" should, after twenty years, be again offered to children is not apparent. The "Wonder Book of the Bible" is a ponderous and elaborate volume of Biblical narrative with highly sensational illustrations of melodramatic rather than Biblical character.

"Story-Hour Favorites" is an excellent compilation of stories for telling, including, among others, parts of Pinocchio and Selma Lagerlöf's beautiful "Christmas Rose." Mr. Lanier has devoted much thought to the gathering of material for his "Book of Bravery." He divides his heroes into groups: those who, with the instinctive though selfish will to live, faced death to avoid it; the treasure seekers, whether pirates or miners; the soldiers who knew no fear. In addition he recounts certain famous exploits on the sea, and deeds of discipline like Thermopylæ and Balaclava. The selections are made with great discrimination and the stories themselves are put into excellent form (though shut between inexcusable covers). It is not only a book of inspiration, but in the hands of a thoughtful lad should bring a deep awakening of the spirit.

M. H. B. M.

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[5] *My Country.* By Grace A. Turkington. Ginn. 96 cents.

[6] *That Year at Lincoln High.* By Joseph Gollomb. Macmillan. $1.35.
Fighting for Fairview. By William Heyliger. Appleton. $1.35.
The Big Game. By Lawrence Perry. Scribners. $1.35.
Philip Kent in the Upper School. By T. Truxton Hare. Penn. $1.35.
Sandsy Himself. By Gardner Hunting. Harpers. $1.25.
Under Orders. By Harold S. Latham. Macmillan. $1.35.
The Boy Hikers. By Chelsea Curtis Fraser. Crowell. $1.25.
The Mystery of Ram Island. By Joseph Bushnell Ames. Century. $1.35.
Lost Island. By Ralph Henry Barbour and H. P. Holt. Century. $1.35.
On the Overland Stage. By Edwin L. Sabin. Crowell. $1.25.
Ross Grant in Miners' Camp. By John Garland. Penn. $1.35.
Captain Ted. By Louis Pendleton. Appleton. $1.35.
For the Freedom of the Seas. By Ralph Henry Barbour. Appleton. $1.35.
The Adventure Club with the Fleet. By R. H. Barbour. Dodd, Mead. $1.35.
Scout Drake in War Time. By Isabel Hornibrook. Little, Brown. $1.35.
The Trail of the Cloven Foot. By A. H. Verrill. Dutton. $1.60.
The Lost Nation. By Everett McNeil. Dutton. $1.60.
The Masters of the Peaks. By Joseph A. Altsheler. Appleton. $1.35.
The Lost Hunters. By Joseph A. Altsheler. Appleton. $1.35.
Boys' Book of Indian Warriors. By Edwin L. Sabin. Jacobs. $1.50.
Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains. By C. A. Eastman. Little, Brown. $1.25.
Lone Bull's Mistake. By James Willard Schultz. Houghton Mifflin. $1.35.
Running Fox. By E. R. Gregor. Appleton. $1.35.
The Dogs of Boytown. By Walter A. Dwyer. Holt. $1.50.
The Boy Scouts Year Book. Appleton. $2.
Fighters Young Americans Want to Know. By E. T. Tomlinson. Appleton. $1.60.

[7] *Three Sides of Paradise Green.* By Augusta Huiell Seaman. Century. $1.35.
Nancy Lee's Namesake. By Margaret Warde. Penn. $1.35.
Cinderella's Granddaughter. By Beth B. Gilchrist. Century. $1.25.
Isabel Carleton's Friends. By Margaret Ashmun. Macmillan. $1.35.
Two Alike. By Edith Barnard Delano. Houghton Mifflin. $1.35.
Girls of '64. By E. B. and A. A. Knipe. Macmillan. $1.35.

[8] *The Book of Nonsense.* By Edward Lear. Crowell. 50 cents.
Alice in Wonderland. By Lewis Carroll. American Book Co. 60 cents.
Tales From Shakespeare. By Charles and Mary Lamb. Crowell. $2.
The Valiant Runaways. By Gertrude Atherton. Dodd, Mead. $1.25.
Story-Hour Favorites. Compiled by Wilhelmina Harper. Century. $1.25.
Wonder Book of the Bible. Illustrated. Stokes. $2.50.
The Book of Bravery. By Henry W. Lanier. Scribners. $2.

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The Point of War

By O. W. FIRKINS

A Father of Women and Other Poems. By Alice Meynell. London: Burns and Oates. $1.
The Sad Years. By Dora Sigerson. New York: George H. Doran Company. $1.25.
The Retinue. By Katherine Lee Bates. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. $1.50.
On Heaven and Poems Written on Active Service. By Ford Madox Hueffer. New York: John Lane Company. $1.25.
November: Poems in Wartime. By Henry Bryan Binns. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. $1.25.
Poems. By Geoffrey Dearmer. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company. $1.
Work-A-Day Warriors. By Joseph Lee. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. $1.50.
Memory: Poems of War and Love. By A. Newberry Choyce. New York: John Lane Company. $1.
My Erratic Pal. By Alfred Clark, N. Z. M. C. New York: John Lane Company. $1.25.
War Verse. Edited by Frank Foxcroft. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. $1.25.
From the Front: Trench Poetry. Edited by Lieutenant C. E. Andrews. New York: D. Appleton and Company. $1.
Songs from the Trenches. Edited by Herbert Adams Gibbons. New York: Harper and Brothers. $1.25.

WHAT word shall embody, shall discriminate, Alice Meynell? Briefly, for her a poem is a rite. The style is the "white samite, mystic, wonderful" in which the Grail of some reverent and fervid aspiration is enwrapped. I recall no poems more succinct; no poems more spacious. They remind me of star-maps in which dots stand for orbs and sidereal distances are denoted by tenths of an inch. All is measure, security, design. Effects of this sort must not be cheapened by abundance, and Mrs. Meynell is very wise in the art, or very lucky in the instinct, which has made her poems brief and few.

> Therefore are feasts so solemn and so rare,
> Since, seldom coming, in the long year set,
> Like stones of worth they thinly placed are,
> Or captain jewels in the carcanet.
> (Shakespeare, Sonnets, LII)

Beautiful as her manner is, the amount of manner is very great, and the danger of over-solemnizing a secondary motive is felt even in her nobly chiselled Shakespeare poem. My first quotation is dramatic rather than decorative.

> Three times have I beheld
> Fear leap in a babe's face, and take his breath,
> Fear, like the fear of eld
> That knows the price of life, the name of death.
> What is it justifies
> This thing, this dread, this fright that has no tongue,
> The terror in those eyes
> When only eyes can speak—they are so young?

She says of Shakespeare, whose years her own years enclose:

> O thou city of God,
> My waste lies after thee, and lies before.

She closes "Summer in England, 1914" with the words:

> The soldier dying dies upon a kiss,
> The very kiss of Christ.

Dora Sigerson (Mrs. Clement Shorter) died in January, 1918. Her friend, Katherine Tynan, says that the war and the Irish troubles broke her heart. National woes, world-woes, break very few hearts; like the reverberations of cannon-shot, they appall but do not slay. Poetry is an evidence of feeling. Of her own feeling Dora Sigerson has offered the last unanswerable evidence—the evidence of death. To that capacity her poems are quick to testify. She lacked many things, but she felt. In that privilege and doom, that reward and sentence, her part was ample. I think her deficiencies grew largely out of her feeling too much to care sufficiently for the color or semblance of feeling; sure of her claim, she mislaid her credentials. Perhaps in the poems, possibly in the life itself, one divines something at once exquisite and ruinous as of apple-trees in bloom after a brisk wind.

> Bring all the sweets of June,
> Pale viola and rue,
> Garlands of fragrant roses, pink and white.
> The young birds' broken tune,
> The larkspur gold and blue,
> Let in the gentle harping of the night.
>
> When russet autumn comes,
> Lad's-love and lavender
> Fling on her bed. Go, shake red apples down,
> Sun-kissed and purple plums,
> The sweet and luscious pear
> Bring her on leaves of crimson, green, and brown.

But at the last color and art and almost speech itself dissolve in the pure cry:

> Oh, call her, call her, call her home once more!

That cry will be echoed in Ireland when an unforgetting people reads the last poems of Dora Sigerson.

The metre of Miss Bates's "Retinue" is unexceptionable. Etymologists will follow me when I say that her verse is done to a turn; the honor of Wellesley is sustained in every cæsura. The style is what the neologist calls meticulous and the ironist painstaking, and the friend simply careful. In the Johnsonese phrase about Pope, it is shaven with the scythe and levelled with the roller to a perfection that warns the most presuming reviewer "off the grass." The motives are usually clear-cut, and there is a real felicity in phrases like "the bluebird's fleck of sky" and the Will Shakespeare who "loafs with immortality." The patriotism is liberal and humane. The stylus in Miss Bates's hand never becomes stiletto, and just indignation never shows that virus which suggests that the difference between Hun and anti-Hun is a difference of longitude, not of temper.

I quote, with a salutary omission, the high-keyed and really imaginative stanzas, "To Peace."

> The cup, the ruby cup
> Whence anguish drips,
> At last is lifted up
> Against our lips.
>
> Though we, till seas run dry,
> Your lovers are,
> How can we put it by,
> Red cup of war?
>
> Upon this foaming edge
> Of blood and flame,
> With shuddering lips we pledge
> Your name.

I like this poem much better than the bulk of this imperturbably laudable volume. What I want in poetry is *goodness*; Miss Bates has only virtue.

"In vers libre (rhymed and unrhymed)," observes the paper jacket, "Ford Madox Hueffer gives his impressions of Heaven and the Great War." Mr. Hueffer's specializations are clearly various. I feel ill-used by Mr. Hueffer. Knowing him scantily, I brought neither trust nor admiration to his new book. He has evoked—and then dispelled—that trust and admiration; and I am nettled, as stupid people commonly are, with the conjuror who has outwitted me. There is no dupe so embittered as the original skeptic. I was impressed by Mr. Hueffer's war poems. They were shrouded poems, poems muffled in a sorrow out of whose folds the eye peered wistfully at familiar objects at once estranged and exalted by the surrounding gloom. A hole in the ground, as a post of observation, has both defects and advantages; it magnifies the few objects which it does not shut out.

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The ache of the war, its monotony, its bewilderment, its resignation, its bitterness, its sullen fidelity, its passionate and mystic exaltation of the objects it foregoes and remembers—I found these in Mr. Hueffer's verse. Quotations are treacherous, but I will quote:

Doubtless we too, we too, when the years have receded,
Shall look like the heroes of Hellas, upon a frieze,
White-limbed and buoyant and passing the flame of the torches
From hand to hand. . . . But to-day it's mud to the knees
And khaki and khaki and khaki . . .
And the love of one's land
Very quiet and hidden and still. . . . And again
I don't know, though I've pondered the matter for years
Since the war began. . . . But I never had much brain. . . .

After verses like these, "On Heaven" is disenchanting. Stevenson repudiated the "eternal tea-party." I own to a shrinking from the eternal liaison. That the jaded soldier should dream of wine and kisses is forgivable, but to identify the mouth either of bottle or woman with the fulfilment of man's spiritual aspirations is another matter. When it comes to the preface, Mr. Hueffer is inexpugnably—Mr. Hueffer. He has ceased to be a writer, he is "sad" and "tired," he finds his poems "sloppy," and he "simply can't" help things. For me these are finalities. I will believe Mr. Hueffer to be sincere when he ceases to be artless.

The author of the penetrating dramatic satire, "Siegesallee Fantasia" is not a commonplace person. There is robust imagination in the picture of Thor as the "Blacksmith" forging peace upon his stithy and in the image of Germany as Clytemnestra, leman of the Ægisthus of despotism, while Liberty, her true lord—a little travestied in the person of Agamemnon—perishes by her hand. I think the trouble with Mr. Binns is that, while he takes life seriously, he takes poetry rather lightly, and poetry is woman enough to feel the snub. In a "Footnote to Epipschydion" (observe the spelling), Mr. Binns's mawkish and patronizing Shelley claims the right to love Emilias at discretion, and Mr. Binns's Mary on reflection acquiesces. The muse of poetry, I fancy, resembles the real Mary and differs from Mr. Binns's portrait in her scorn of a divided homage. The Emilia who waylays Mr. Binns is metaphysics.

Geoffrey Dearmer is a young English soldier-poet with a mastery of metre and a turn for phrase. He has a great aid and a great hindrance in his wakeful and sometimes wilful cleverness. That he can sometimes elude his talents may be briefly but clearly shown in the charming quatrain which follows (the Somme is the speaker).

From Amiens to Abbeville
I labour at the listless mill
And tempt the nodding daffodill
To blur my open face.

Mr. Joseph Lee's "Work-a-day Warriors" enables us to place a little more definitely the man who caught the public ear by his brotherly and soldierly "Ballads of Battle." Mr. Lee is a really agreeable and spirited companion in verse; few soldiers and not all poets are that; Mr. Lee is nothing more. "Glad that I killed Yer," "Back to London," "War," "The Things I've Seen," "The Listening Post," are interesting poems in which little but the consummative touch is wanting. Mr. Lee can hook his fish; he can play it; he cannot quite land it on the shore of rememberable poetry. His pencil joins his pen in its homage to his rifle.

Gleamlets of interest brighten here and there the very moderate significance of Lieutenant Choyce's "Memory." In his chase of originality, the quarry outruns the pursuer.

In "My Erratic Pal" Alfred Clark prints the verses of a dead friend known as "John." Facing and spacing the untutored yet by no means lifeless poems, runs the frou-frou of his own voluble and mannered prose.

Mr. Foxcroft's "War Verse" is a large and loose compilation, in which periodicals like "Punch," "The Spectator," "The Times," "Blackwood's," and the "Saturday Review" are fully represented. The book contains many pleasant and some worthy things, but obviously does not aim, in Mr. James's vivid phrase, to "put selection on its mettle."

"From the Front" is a more interesting volume, because the authors are British soldiers. Good-nature rather than fastidiousness has held the sieve, but even with this drawback the sifting confirms the impression that the British soldier has an aptitude for verse. For poetry the trench is not the grave.

An American parallel to this British volume is applied by "Songs from the Trenches," based on the New York *Herald* prize-contest, dedicated to Alan Seeger, and published for the aid of the widows and orphans of American seamen dying in the transport service. On this volume I propose to say a plain word. We love and honor our American soldiers, but there is only one valid reason for publishing the verse of heroes, saints, or gods, and that is that the heroes, saints, or gods compose verse that is worth printing. Men "who in warm life-blood wrote their nobler verse" lose nothing in any sane man's esteem by their inexpertness in such kickshaws as iambics and dactyls. But that inexpertness should not be dragged into the light. The soldiers themselves are blameless; it is not their business to decline immortality. The blame falls on their sponsors. Personally I do not believe that this rough-and-ready collection is just even to the poetical faculty of the American soldier. There is Alan Seeger; there are the contributors to Alfred Noyes's excellent Princeton collection, a class who are almost as surely represented in General Pershing's command as they are surely not represented in Mr. Gibbons's undisciplined battalion. The dilemma in relation to our soldiers is unescapable. If this work is not their best, the implication that it is their best is a wrong; and, if it be their best, it is the business of the New York *Herald* and Mr. Gibbons and Harper and Brothers to veil their incompetence in a patriotic silence.

BOOKS

A Polar Geographer

The Life of Sir Clements R. Markham. By Sir Albert H. Markham. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. $6.

SELDOM can the biographer have a more grateful task than that which fell to Admiral Markham in writing the biography of his distinguished cousin. It is the record of honored achievement in the work to which he devoted a full measure of his eighty-five years. "For half a century the accepted representative all the world over of geography in England" is the tribute of Keltie, with whom Markham was closely associated in the administration of the Royal Geographical Society. The chief aspects of Markham's work as geographer and man of letters are well known. They are newly illuminated, in both their excellences and their weaknesses, by this intimate relation of the biography, and herein lies the chief merit of the work.

Sir Clements Markham came of distinguished family; his great-grandfather, Archbishop of York, was known as one of the leading scholars of his day; his father, also prominent in the Church, was a man of many accomplishments. To the happy circumstances of his early life, in particular to the encouragement of the father, the son owed much. As a very young child Markham displayed a remarkable gift of observation, coupled with the ability to transmit it in writing—powers that remained the distinguishing features of an unusually consistent career. At the tender age of nine we find him whiling away the tedium of isolation for mumps with Parry's "Polar Voyages," an event, he always maintained, that laid the foundation of a life-long devotion to polar exploration. His thirst for knowledge of the earth and its inhabitants was insatiable; and each new acquisition was invariably committed to writing. Thus at ten he compiled a history of different countries and peoples, illustrated with maps of his own construction.

When fourteen years of age the seal was set upon childish ambition by an appointment as cadet in the Royal Navy. The training of those days was characterized by the long voyage. Markham's first experience, extending over four consecutive years in the Pacific Station, gave him ample opportunity of confirming his desire to be "an explorer and geographer." Specifically by introducing him to Lima and the Peruvian seaboard, the training period directed his interest to the land of the Incas. Some time after his return to Europe, however, his attention was deflected toward "his second love," the polar regions. It was the time when the fate of the Franklin expedition was yet unknown and search parties were being organized. Markham seized the opportunity afforded by his position in the navy to join one of them (1850); the record of it is to be found

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in his first published work, "Franklin's Footsteps." While the active work of the expedition proved valuable training, the leisure of the long winter months afforded the omnivorous student an exceptional opportunity for reading. Among the volumes on shipboard were a Quichua grammar and dictionary. Markham put them to good use, for already he was making a typically thorough preparation for a cherished plan, the study of the ancient Peruvian civilizations. It was not long delayed. Shortly after his return from the Arctic, Markham resigned from the navy and set off for Peru, receiving on the way the helpful stimulation of a visit to the historian, Prescott.

The first fruit of the Peruvian research was "Cuzco and Lima," a delightful book. Much of its charm lies in the author's rarely sympathetic attitude towards the Indians and in the breadth of his views. It was Markham's wide interest that enabled him to contribute a "priceless service to humanity" as a side-issue of the Peruvian investigations. While visiting a remote valley in the Eastern Andes his attention was drawn to the results obtained by cultivation of the quinine-producing species of the cinchona tree. A few years later his work at the India Office made him acquainted with the terrible extent of the fever scourge in the East. His quick mind leaped to the possibilities of cinchona cultivation in India and a febrifuge brought within the reach of the country's suffering millions. The epic story of his success is well known; he tells the details himself in "Travels in Peru and India." It is characteristic of Markham that he found innumerable other matters of geographical interest during his short visits to the East, all with a distinctly humane trend.

About this time Markham, who had been an active member of the Royal Geographical Society since his election to fellowship in 1854, was made honorary secretary. The appointment coincided with a period of awakening interest in African exploration, a field to which Markham gave strong support, stimulated no doubt by his own glimpse of Africa as geographer in the Abyssinian war (1868). Yet meanwhile he had never lost his belief in the value of polar exploration, both for its direct geographical consequences and its merit as a training ground for the navy, to which he remained deeply attached. Since the discovery of Franklin's fate British interest in the Arctic had waned. Spurred on by the success of the American expedition under Hall, Markham revived that interest by organizing the Nares Expedition (1875)—an expedition notable for its scientific results as well as for the fact that one of its parties, commanded by Admiral Markham, succeeded in making the farthest north of the time. With Britain worthily represented in the Arctic, Markham turned his attention to the comparatively little touched field of the Antarctic. To this objective he bent all his combative energy from the date of his election as President of the Royal Geographical Society in 1888. His invincible determination materialized in Scott's voyage in the Discovery (1901-1904). Previous exploration had touched the fringe of the great south polar continent; real penetration began with Scott's first voyage. It was followed by the voyage of Shackleton and Scott's own second journey, in which he met his heroic death. All these expeditions are distinguished by their splendid scientific achievements, and Markham is not inaptly termed the "father of modern Antarctic research." Fittingly, too, the last of his literary and scientific labors is a "History of Polar Exploration," now in press.

At the time of his death Markham was also engaged in editing two books for the Hakluyt Society. This body, as well as the Royal Geographical Society, is deeply indebted to Markham for both executive and editorial help. The latter includes the editing of some twenty-nine volumes, the majority of which were also translated by the editor. Markham's literary labors, however, are not covered by the foregoing. He had keen interest in history, genealogy, and other allied subjects, and naturally found in them matter for his versatile and facile pen. Even so the picture of the man whose "one idea of recreation was another piece of work" would not be complete. Admiral Markham rightly lays stress on the personal and human side, on such features as Sir Clements's interest in his old school, Westminster, and his efforts toward the welfare of cadets in the navy and the merchant marine. The completeness of the portrait enhances its value. It enables us to form the more just appreciation of one who was not only a pioneer in polar exploration, but also a very notable contributor to nineteenth-century civilization.

Job as Drama

The Book of Job as a Greek Tragedy Restored. By Horace Meyer Kallen. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co. $1.25.

A Dramatization of the Book of Job. By James S. Stevens. Boston: The Stratford Company.

TO his arrangement of *The Book of Job* Dr. Kallen prefixes an introduction as long as the poem but differing from the common run of such writing in interest and often in brilliant implications. We may not agree with his contrast of Hellenism and Hebraism. We may not quite follow him as to the illusion, the pathetic fallacy, of Hellenism. But we may well think of his identification of the Suffering Servant with Zerubbabel as astonishingly suggestive with regard to the legend or story made up into Job. We must agree that the keen reminder of the wide vogue of Euripides and the popularity and imitation of his drama in the theatres of every Greek community, and of the Euripidean work, in Hebraic literature, of Ezekiel of Alexandria, "the poet of Jewish tragedies," is highly persuasive of Dr. Kallen's main thesis. Equally persuasive is the parallel drawn between the tone of Job in relation to the orthodoxy of the Jews and the well-known relation of Euripides to Greek orthodoxy.

Professor Genung handles Job as an epic of the inner life; Dr. Moulton regards it as a dramatic poem in an epic framework; Nathaniel Schmidt considers it as at most a dialogue in the Platonic style; perhaps even in the manner of Prometheus Bound, but certainly not as a drama. In the sixteenth century Theodore Beza lectured in Geneva on Job as a drama of scenes and acts; and the majority of eighteenth-century scholars, as is well known, classed it as such. Theodore of Mopsuestia of the fifth century considered Job an imitation of Greek tragedy. Dr. Kallen goes further and reads the book as a straight imitation of Euripides.

Of the two books of the Bible that make use of dialogue for its own sake, The Song of Solomon and Job, the former has often been remarked as akin to Theocritus. Job, if it be regarded as drama at all, would seem as obviously to relate itself to the Dionysian theatre. The arguments for awarding the place of model for such a masterpiece to Euripides instead of to Æschylus seem considerable enough. Certainly in the light of the Euripidean irony and Euripides's method of putting new truths under old, safe forms, many troublesome passages, such, for example, as the Behemoth and Leviathan—easily Euripidean in quality—are irradiated for us. The book becomes more easily a drama under this scheme through the excitement of Job's struggle towards a recognition and acceptance of a universal power and justice. This, of course, is the famous metaphysical comfort of dramatic criticism, the quiet and full beauty of the mind in the presence of the larger vision: a sense common to no religion *per se*, but seen for us only through great poetry. Such an interpretation, in the strict light of Euripides, harmonizes and unifies the Book of Job as no other can. It must be said, however, that this effect is heightened by, if it does not depend on, Mr. Kallen's rendering of Job's last speech as:

> I recant my challenge and am comforted.

For this there seems to be at least as much justification as for the usual translation:

> I abhor myself and repent in dust and ashes.

There follows an arrangement of the immortal poem by the author into the Euripidean form, in which some of the stage directions, such as the storm and the wreck of Job's house at the end of the prologue, would be less intrusive if placed in a producer's note, since they are purely gratuitous and, as at present situated, somewhat out of place. But the shift into Euripidean form involves poetic and critical imagination rather than any marked alteration of the text, and amounts to a valuable piece of interpretation.

In Professor Stevens's arrangement the lines could perhaps still be acted or read, but the introduction is unimportant and the indications for music and production are in poor taste, as might well have been anticipated, and without distinction.

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The Irishman in Larrovitch

Feodor Vladimir Larrovitch. Edited by William George Jordon and Richardson Wright. New York: The Authors Club. $2.

CURIOSITIES in literature are matters, it is supposed, in which the man about the streets takes little interest. And yet the existence or non-existence of an author has been often a question on which many amateurs have spent labor and printer's ink. Doubts have been cast by a *littérateur* in the New York *Tribune* upon the identity of the man Feodor Vladimir Larrovitch and the charge made—for it is more than an insinuation—that the whole book is no more than a mystification. For this assumption the main reliance was the fact that none of his works were found in our libraries and bibliographical references. It does not seem to have occurred to the critic that the point of publishing the volume, which is under the ægis of the Authors Club, is the very fact that he was unknown.

If the *Tribune,* rather rashly we think, committed itself to a disbelief in Larrovitch, such is not the case with the *Sun* (of August 15) which printed a letter from Mr. C. A. Brockway concerning a meeting between Walt Whitman and the Russian writer when the latter visited the United States.

The slender volume that gives an account of F. V. Larrovitch, his birthplace, parents and life, is a neat piece of book publishing with abundant illustrations. As an introduction to a new but now disputed author it owes much to a handful of American writers. Thus Clinton Scollard has a charming sonnet ending

> So there be strewn above his long repose
> Sweet sprays of the Crimean violet.

William G. Jordon considers Larrovitch from the personal side, but since he never met him, one turns to Dr. Titus Munson Coan and his "Talks with Larrovitch" for the more definitely personal note—how the Russian looked and moved and talked about the time of the Civil War when they met in Paris. His place in literature is sketched by M'Cready Sykes with a sure hand, and translations from his prose and verse are supplied—only too meagrely, alas!—by Richardson Wright and George Sidney Hellman. Bibliography with notes is added by Arthur Colton.

Critics who call in question the existence of Larrovitch have found fault with his name, as not distinctively Russian and, strange to say, they are not without warrant. Larrovitch, except for its termination, is not so much Slavic as Keltic; and that brings one perforce to the consideration of the father who gave him that name. Opposite page 27 there are halftones of his father and his mother. The father has none of the Slav characteristics; he is just a typical Irishman with a thick moustache, beetling brows, and a waggish look on his face as if he had just "settled the hash" of a friend by some pointed repartee.

This makes one recall the fact that ever since Peter the Great, the Russian army included numbers of Irish officers who, after learning the language, Russified their names and founded families, just as they did in France, Spain and Sweden. As he sits there, watching the effect of his joke on some helpless Slav, one may feel safe in recognizing Captain Vladimir Serge Larrovitch for a true son of the Emerald Isle. When Dr. Coan met him in Paris, Feodor said, describing his own college days at Kiev: "I gave some part of my time to the prescribed studies, enough to stand fairly well in my classes; but this was by way of concession, for my chief pleasure was in athletics and military exercises." Could anything be less Russian or more Irish? And in a letter to a child, describing his meeting with a fairy who gives him a present for the child, Larrovitch pictures it as "a very beautiful fairy with green and blue boots and a bright red skirt and a yellow cap on her head"—in fact a member of the Good People, a regular Irish *clurichaun!* Strange, that with such clues Mr. M'Cready Sykes, and Dr. Thomas Walsh, who comments on "Five Larrovitch Letters," should fail to see that, although by birth and education a Russian, this man must have been half Irish!

While at Kiev, Larrovitch was a wrestler, a broadsword fencer, and a boxer; he was even a vamp and "ran with the machine"—a very Irish trait, we must say. His youthful likeness is negative, but the one as an elderly man shows very distinctly the Irish strain, though not so fully as his father's. Then there are his failings, which include love-making of a rather unscrupulous kind, and his weakness for drink. He was superstitious enough to consult a crystal globe in order to explore the future. Feodor Larrovitch may not have known it himself—nay, it is reasonably certain he did not—but the Russian in him which derived from his somewhat colorless mother was entirely outweighed by the Irish traits he took from his father.

So far as the name Larrovitch is concerned, we may note that if translated back into Erse it might have been Mac Laireog. We can readily see that an Irishman named Mac Laireog might find it absolutely necessary to avoid the anti-alien prejudices of Russians, just as thousands of Germans, Poles, and Russians have translated or assimilated their names here. In Russia during the early nineteenth century such action was far more vital, especially to a man in the army, in order to escape the ill-will of both superiors and rank and file. Now when such a man as Mac Laireog came to name a son, he might very readily choose some solid old Irish baptismal names like Cumadhe and Flaitheamhuil, which mean "Godgiven" and "heavenly," and proceed to turn them into Russian, as he had his own name, or get them as nearly as possible Russian in sound. The former he would translate correctly enough into Feodor; the latter he would assimilate by sound with Vladimir. Probably he never told his wife or his son at all. The face shown on page 27 is that of a man who would relish the secret, would keep his counsel, and let bygones—and Ireland—be bygones.

Studies in French Literature

Sources of the Religious Elements in Flaubert's "Salammbô." By Arthur Hamilton. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. $1.25.

Etude sur "Pathelin." By Richard T. Holbrook. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. $1.25.

Voltaire on the English Stage. By H. L. Bruce. Berkeley: University of California Press. $1.50.

ROMANCE scholars will be interested in the continued publication of the Elliott Monographs, issued under the direction of Professor Edward C. Armstrong. These studies in the Romance languages and literatures are written, edited—and printed—with great care. They have dealt chiefly with the researches of the seminary on Flaubert conducted by Professor A. Terracher while in this country. Studies have appeared concerning Flaubert's juvenile works, his correspondence, the composition and sources of "Salammbô." This last topic is now continued by Mr. Hamilton, who investigates the artist's material and his use thereof, particularly in connection with the Carthaginian gods.

Ancient Carthage has left no indigenous literature; and to a devotee of literature, such as Flaubert, this must have seemed a startling fact. He could not, as in the case of the first "Tentation de Saint Antoine," rest his swallow-flights of fancy upon a granite foundation. His paradoxical situation with regard to "Salammbô" was solved by the use of every author, ancient and modern, who as an outsider wrote of things Carthaginian. And of course there is related archæological material. Consequently, the documentation of "Salammbô," in so far as it is a conflict between Moloch and Tanit, their attributes and accessories, is derived from such ancient sources as Pliny, Plutarch, Strabo, Lucian and Pausanias; from the Bible, especially the Pentateuch and the Prophets, in Cahen's translation, including Cahen's notes; and from modern books like Dufour's "Histoire de la Prostitution," Dureau de la Malle's "Recherches sur la topographie de Carthage," and Creuzer's "Les Religions de l'antiquité." Mr. Hamilton's sound parallel passages demonstrate that Flaubert rarely copied; that he frequently condensed, giving an epitome of his source; that he had a way of "combining notes from a variety of works"; and especially that he embellished the original by using his well-known resources of cadenced style and appropriate imagery. Successful with regard to Tanit, the method seems vague when applied to the ceremony in Moloch's temple—simply because of "insufficient data." Mr. Hamilton holds that when Flaubert became weary he could not see; and that neither he nor the reader sees very clearly the religio-archæological material after Chapter VI. Loss of interest and lack of feeling, not to be atoned for by mere accumulation of detail, are responsible for some lack of success in the depiction. It is largely as an imposing archæ-

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ological reconstitution that the author would have "Salammbô" stand or fall. Nevertheless, one may safely dissent from the conclusion that "judged by his own [Flaubert's] standards his book was a failure." In color, style, and imagery, "Salammbô" remains impeccable.

R. T. Holbrook's "Etude sur 'Pathelin'" contains the *disjecta membra* of a critical edition. The contents fall into two divisions: a description, with some attempt at filiation, of certain editions and MSS. previous to 1550; and a "commentary" on various difficult passages in the text of the old farce. The *bibliographie raisonnée* deals with sixteen printed forms (including incunabula) of the "Pathelin" and with four MSS. The edition which appears to be favored as the *princeps* is that printed by G. Le Roy in 1485 or 1486. Reappearing characteristics, or errors, are used to establish a partial genealogy for the printed copies—from which derive all of the MSS. considered. The description of these has accordingly only a minor interest. The date assigned for the composition of the "Pathelin" is 1464, on account of allusions to a "great cold" during the winter of that year. The authorship is attributed to Guillaume Alecis, the evidence being reserved. In the second part, elucidations and conjectures are made concerning a number of obscure expressions. Other monuments of the epoch are called into court and very similar quotations from the known works of Alecis serve to enforce his connection with "Maître Pathelin."

All this labor is confessedly provisional and incomplete. It paves the way for the promised critical edition of the ancient farce, which will be awaited with interest; the more so because of its unique dramatic importance and because Professor Holbrook's English translation of the play has been favorably received. The present study is written in French with numerous illustrations of and from the sixteenth-century texts.

Voltaire, who thought he introduced into tragedy all that was feasible in the way of action and heart-interest, must have been surprised and pained at the fate of his plays in England. The record of Mr. Bruce shows sixteen dramas adapted between 1734 and 1776, by the most diverse hands—clergymen, hack-writers, famous actors like Garrick and Macklin. The record is illuminating, because it indicates just what English dramatic taste demanded; and action and emotion were among the foremost of these demands. Regularly one finds more vehemence both in words and deeds than in the original, more melodrama, appeals to motives of passion and revenge, more actual *tableaux*, stage business, "battle, murder, and sudden death." The long French *récits* are broken into dialogue, the language becomes more direct and less delicate, though heightened by turgid Romanticism in emotional crises and thickened by metaphorical moralizings elsewhere. There is less self-control among the characters and more of "tattered passions." In the wild mêlée of a catastrophe, Mrs. Grundy will come down from a machine. The traditions of the heroic and the sentimental drama alternate rant with long drawn-out tenderness. There are more developments of the plot, more feminine rôles, a rougher, fuller sense of life. In comedy, the scenes and dialogue are domesticated by concrete home allusions.

These national differences appear in the adaptations of "Zaïre" and "Mérope," made by Aaron Hill; in "Mahomet the Impostor," excellently produced by Garrick; and even in comedies like Murphy's "Orphan of China" or Colman's "English Merchant," out of "L'Ecossaise." These and some others were quite successful in their English dress—and it may be recalled that several of Voltaire's plays were originally indebted to the English of Shakespeare or of Richardson. In London, in the provinces and to some extent in America, the five plays just named long held the boards. In fact, Mr. Bruce shows, as against Professor Lounsbury, that the success of Voltaire's plays, especially his tragedies, lasted well into the third quarter of the century in England. The interesting thing is that the adaptations run so true to the English dramatic type. It is exactly what one would expect. The reverse of the medal may be exhibited by what happened to Shakespeare in France during the same period. There Ducis simply removed from the original all and more of the qualities that the English conferred upon Voltaire. Ducis also added the French neo-classical regulations, but not the qualities, that the best tragedies of Voltaire possess and that scarcely appear in any translation. The anglicization of Voltaire remains, then, in Mr. Bruce's hands, a well-written and distinctly illustrated chapter in comparative literature.

Church and Modern State

The Church in the Commonwealth. By Richard Roberts. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. $1.

THIS little volume is one of a series projected by C. Delisle Burns and Richard Roberts, of which the object is to provoke frank discussion of "current postulates, political, religious, economic, and social." It is a remarkable essay, not only as an exposition of the best liberal religious thought, but for the uncompromising boldness and fervor of its spiritual idealism, its grasp of essentials, and its logical presentation of argument. The brevity of it adds much to its cogency. In so condensed a summary of the relationships between church and state from Apostolic times to the present there could be, of course, no room for detailed consideration of transitional phases, but the synopsis of the outstanding features in the history of Christianity, from the days of Paul to those of Constantine, the Holy Roman Empire, the Reformation, and the present century, is singularly clear and comprehensive. Upon the development of rite, or the accumulation of dogma, Mr. Roberts wastes no space. His faith is purely evangelical, of the spirit, not the letter. He accepts the plain teaching of Christ, with all its implications, as the sole and sufficient rule for public and private ethics and morals and the one hope of human happiness. In this he utters no more than the conventional message of all the so-called Christian churches. But from this he proceeds to argue that the state—as at present constituted—no matter what its form, is in its very essence a self-seeking institution, ever scheming to gain power, prosperity, and security for itself at the expense of its neighbors, with a minimum of scruple concerning the means to be employed, and is essentially unchristian. Therefore the Church of Christ, whose only mission is to preach and exemplify a gospel of universal love, righteousness, service, and brotherhood, cannot consistently enter into any sort of alliance with it, for the sake of either security or influence. Moreover, any such alliance, inasmuch as it presumes some return for favors received and recognition of an authority which may at any time limit the freedom of conscience, must operate to deaden the spiritual growth which is the natural characteristic and very life of sincere religious faith.

In this matter the withers of the free American Churches, of course, are unwrung, but the principle which Mr. Roberts upholds with unflinching logic has no merely local or particular application. He essays to demonstrate—and with no small measure of success—that the gradual decay of the spiritual influence of the Christian Church as a body, as well as the innumerable divisions by which it has been and is harassed and crippled, began with its organization upon secular lines, and increased rapidly and progressively after its identification with the governmental schemes of Constantine. Throughout its career, and especially when its political influence was greatest, its spiritual power has been paralyzed by its temporal associations. The very precautions which it has adopted in the hope of guarding itself against corruption by rigid definitions of the theological boundaries; or of defending itself against external attack by invoking the aid of civil or military forces, have, as a rule, only resulted in endowing it with the character and responsibilities of a secular corporation; while the temptation to establish a monopoly has betrayed it into persecutions of the most atrocious kind and fostered hostility, jealousy, and schism in all directions.

There is no denying the substantial truthfulness or the significance of the examples which Mr. Roberts quotes, but there is something to be said, nevertheless, upon the other side. Liberty, coupled with ignorance, and degenerating into license, may be almost as productive of error and outrage as persecution itself. In his passion for freedom of conscience and worship he ignores some counter-considerations, not all secular, of considerable weight. But comparatively few thinking persons will disagree with him when he maintains that the functions of the Christian Church are purely ethical and moral: that its business is to preach the gospel of brotherly love, rebuke sin in high or low places, and labor for individual and national righteousness, without reference to any obligation save that of Christian duty. In other words, he argues that only by a return to apostolic principles and practice can spiritual unity—of which the essence is freedom—and a world-wide revival of Christian zeal be assured. That the church in treaty with the state can ever have

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much beneficial influence upon the morals of the latter, he absolutely denies. It must always be a complacent confederate. That there is a residuum of pure Christian spirit and faith in all the churches he readily admits, but this has been debarred from exercise and development by the restrictions, agreements, and smothering conventions devised to preserve it, and has survived only by virtue of the inherent vitality in the original message. This is a contentious book, but compels attention by the substantial truths by which it is fortified, and by the manifest sincerity underlying its enthusiasm.

A Study of Swinburne

Swinburne and Landor. By W. Brooks Drayton Henderson. New York: Macmillan Company. $3.

MR. HENDERSON'S work is based upon wide reading and concentrated thought and distinguished by some keen critical analysis. Within its acknowledged limits it is perhaps the most valuable and informing study of Swinburne that exists to-day. Certainly one gains from it a far higher and probably far truer conception of the poet than from his official biography. Mr. Henderson's book does not pretend to be a final and definitive appreciation of Swinburne's work; it is only a study of his development from his first published poems to the climax of his creative genius in "Songs Before Sunrise" and "Tristram of Lyonesse," chiefly in connection, to use the author's own words, "with a great spiritual force, Walter Savage Landor."

It is interesting to note that Mr. Henderson discards the hackneyed term "influence" in speaking of the connection between Landor and Swinburne, a term that seems to him to imply at least something of "spiritual subservience and formal imitation." What he discovers is rather a relationship "involving a spiritual fatherhood and a spiritual sonship" between two poets of two distinct ages, each "by birth, election, and training Aristocrat, Republican, and Hellenist."

Mr. Henderson is too well read in Victorian and contemporary Continental literature to fall into the easy error of making Landor the sole "source" of Swinburne. He shows us the play of other forces upon the young and susceptible poet, notably of Blake, Hugo, and Mazzini. His thesis is that Landor's example and Landor's ideals were for Swinburne "his true North," the star that guided his course as a poet. He accepts as simple statements of fact Swinburne's repeated profession of love and reverence for Landor, not only as a great poet, but even more as a teacher of profound truths, and goes on to find abundant confirmation of this profession in the works of both poets.

Perhaps the most discriminating bit of criticism in the book is that dealing with "Songs Before Sunrise." It is a well-known fact that this work was inspired and suggested by Mazzini, and traces of Mazzinian thought are visible throughout. But, as Mr. Henderson shows, another factor than the influence of Mazzini went to the making of these poems, and that factor is the stubborn individualism, the simple, and at times almost unreasoning, identification of political with moral liberty, and the bitter scorn of kings which Swinburne shares with Landor.

One cannot always accept Mr. Henderson's judgments. Too much is made, we think, of Landor's influence on the early plays, and it seems questionable whether the theme of physical love that runs so fiercely through the early "Poems and Ballads" derives even in the small way that the author suggests from the calm beauty of Landor's "Hellenics." But with his general conclusion, summed up and restated in the Epilogue of the volume, that such a relation as he describes actually existed, that Landor taught Swinburne to love liberty and hate oppression, that Landor's remembered teaching and personal converse rescued his disciple from the bondage of Venus Pandemos and taught him the worship of Venus Urania, that Landor's faith in life and devotion to the cause of freedom broke through the gloom in which Swinburne had contemplated an "oppressive Heaven" and foretold the sunrise of which he was to be the singer, that Landor's love of nature, of children, and of Hellas is reflected and heightened in all the work of Swinburne, and finally that Landor's hero-worship, so different from Carlyle's and so much nobler, reinforced and liberated Swinburne's instinctive passion of reverence and imperious need to praise—with this conclusion it is difficult for any thoughtful student of the two poets essentially to disagree.

Women's Women

Betty Marchand. By Beatrice Barmby. New York: George H. Doran Company.
A Girl Named Mary. By Juliet Wilbor Tompkins. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.
Josselyn's Wife. By Kathleen Norris. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.
The Years for Rachel. By Berta Ruck. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.
You're Only Young Once. By Margaret Widdemer. New York: Henry Holt & Company.
The Lonely Stronghold. Mrs. Baillie Reynolds. New York: George H. Doran Company.
The War Workers. By E. M. Delafield. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

EARLY twentieth-century fiction is likely to be remembered for its heightened sex-consciousness. The novel has been enlivened by the spectacle of woman sporting her own latch-key, inhaling her own smoke, jingling her own money in her pockets. Male story-tellers have had a lot of fun dressing up this spectacle; nor have the "virile" of the other sex been idle. Heroine after heroine has triumphantly proved herself to be just the same as a hero, only more so. Meanwhile, the ordinary woman has kept on writing about the ordinary woman for the ordinary woman. And the upshot of her writing has been that it is better to be happy than "economically independent," better to be a wife than the most successful of business women. We do not presume to justify this opinion: we cite it. Often it appears to be held and enforced unconsciously, as in "Betty Marchand." Betty's independence, her success in business, we follow, after all, as a desperate "stunt" pulled off in the face of circumstance. It is to be rewarded, or atoned for, in the end by the guerdon of a happy marriage. "The Girl Named Mary" is the long-lost child of immemorial legend—"with a difference." Lost from her cradle, the rich Mrs. Jaffrey's Mary has been reared by a good Irishwoman, and has become a capable office-woman of eighteen before her real mother finds her. The real mother wants to turn her into a fine lady, but Mary will have none of that and clings to her foster-mother and her vulgar friends. Hence the emotional action. Mrs. Jaffrey is incredibly stupid and snobbish, and Mary is improbably "common" and uppish. Finally the mother sees that she has a fine girl if not a lady for a daughter, and yields her up with tolerably good grace to the honest mechanic who is her chosen mate. We wonder a little if the good Henry may not find himself living in a smother of encouragement and comprehension, with the breath of life administered to him in spoonfuls by the matchless Mary.

"Josselyn's Wife" secures herself by more ancient methods. She is a sort of Patient Griselda to-date, the fine sturdy lass of the people (middle-class, to be sure), taken up into the heaven of the rich and well-born and made to suffer there for her defects before her qualities triumph. Ellen, to tell the truth, has never wished for labor or independence, therefore she is ripe for early plucking by the rich, talented, and somewhat jaded Gibbs Josselyn. A small child, as usual in Mrs. Norris's stories, is an important cog in the mechanism of the plot: action is too generous a term for anything we find between these covers. "The Years for Rachel," in its very British way, is on much the same plane, an extremely feminine and sentimental love-story. That schoolgirl's idol of the eighties, "the Duchess," was, we suppose, long since gathered to her mothers, but her soul goes fluttering on. The Gwennie of this tale is as ready to be protected, and as capable of being downtrodden by "the right man" as any maiden of the eighties. "Berta Ruck" (who is Mrs. Oliver Onions) has exactly the right touch for this sort of book. "You're Only Young Once" is a very good American example of the same kind of thing. These super-charming Goldsborough sisters have no angles, no shyness, no hoydenish ways. They are beautiful (in suitably contrasted fashion), graceful, and gracious. They are in great demand by "men," infallible dancers, nimble at repartee, modest withal, yet self-possessed utterly till, one by one, they find the "right man" and sink comfortably into his arms, to be happy ever after. We confess to uncertainty as to whether this sort of sugar-coating of calf-love is not downright immoral, especially when it is done so skilfully as Miss Widdemer is in the habit of doing it.

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"The Lonely Stronghold" presents once more the dark and virile and mysterious hero, a Rochester or, let us say, a Heathcliff to-date. There ensues that long play of cross-purpose and misunderstanding which, by the oldest precedents, blocks the course of true love wherever the story-teller and the story-told meet upon their business. "The War Workers," like the first novel of this author, "Zella Sees Herself," is a satirical study of feminine character. "E. L. Delafield," it seems, is a daughter of that popular writer of pleasant stories, Mrs. de la Pasture (now Lady Clifford). This novelist of the second generation has a touch both keen and restrained. She has caught something of the flavor of "the incomparable Jane." Her Zella was a sort of modern Catherine Morland; and her Charmian is an Emma provided with the new machinery for self-assertion. As Director of a Supply Depot at Questerham, she begins to reap, in her late twenties, the rewards of social prestige and personal efficiency. By degrees she gathers into her hands the supreme local authority over all the war activities of the neighborhood, from canteen to hospital. She wears a uniform, prides herself on the military discipline of her establishment, and dominates her assistants by means of her strong personality and her example as a worker who never spares herself. She is fiercely impatient of those who will not work for the Cause—under her banner. And all the while her devotion to the work is secondary to her thirst for power and praise. To her own glory she sacrifices her family, her helpers, and even her own comfort. Finally she is found out by other people and even in part by herself. This comes about largely through the contrasting quiet figure of a little Welsh girl (the third Welsh heroine in this group of novels), who takes the place of a real daughter to Charmian's mother, is loved by everybody for her unassuming honesty and generosity of nature, and marries the man Charmian might have had—if she had been worth marrying. The many minor figures in the comedy (Charmian's mother is not a minor figure) are sketched with remarkable vividness and economy of detail. For her inability to deal with mere types, as for her demure humor and unemphatic clarity of narrative, this young writer may fairly be referred to, if not compared with, the great little Miss Austen.

A Chapter in Social Medicine

Dispensaries: Their Management and Development. By Michael M. Davis, jr., and Andrew R. Warner. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.25.

ONE of the most far-reaching social changes which is going on before our eyes is the socialization of the medical profession—the transformation of the private physician into a public servant. Many forces are contributing to this result. On the one hand, the increasing cost of medical equipment and the increasing complexity of medical specialization tend to make adequate care more and more costly; while on the other hand the demands of the public-health worker for preventive rather than curative treatment make it essential that the resources of medical science should be made more and more widely and easily available. The cost of medical service can be materially reduced by organization, which makes possible the pooling of overhead charges for apparatus and administration and which facilitates the most efficient use of the services of the specialist. A large majority of the population must, however, remain in need of medical advice for which at the moment they are unable to pay, and the burden can be fairly distributed only by a combination of health-insurance systems with a recognition of medical care as in the last analysis a responsibility of the state.

Three agencies, the hospital, the dispensary, and the health department, are playing a principal part in the working out of the new organization of medicine along practical lines. The dispensary is frequently the outpatient department of a hospital; it is still more frequently (in the case of school, tuberculosis, and venereal-disease clinics) a branch of the municipal health department. The dispensary, in the words of Mr. Davis and Dr. Warner, is "an institution which organizes the professional equipment and special skill of physicians for the diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of disease among ambulatory patients"; and as a factor in social progress it is an institution which deserves a far more serious and philosophic treatment than it has generally received.

Mr. Davis, the director of the Boston Dispensary, and Dr. Warner, the superintendent of the equally famous Lakeside Hospital at Cleveland, have produced a really notable book, a contribution of primary importance to the literature of current social medicine. On the whole the discussion is thorough, conservative, and well balanced. The treatment is so broad and logical as to bring out fundamental principles and wide social relationships in the clearest light; and the style of the book is so admirable that not only the physician, but every intelligent student of social problems will find it interesting and informing.

The authors trace the historic development of the dispensary movement to four different motives: the desire to offer charitable assistance to the poor, the desire to obtain material for medical teaching and research, the desire to promote the public health, and the desire to coördinate and render most effective the resources of medical science. The educational possibilities of the dispensary are still largely undeveloped so far as the medical graduate and the nurse are concerned, while its preventive and medical organization functions are just beginning to be realized. Mr. Davis and Dr. Warner point out that dispensary service should by no means be limited to the "poor," but should be extended to all "who need dispensary service and cannot secure *equivalent* medical service elsewhere" and show that if the word "equivalent" be properly interpreted this includes a very large section of the population. The dispensary must, of course, first of all have adequate buildings and adequate staff. The prevailing handicaps of most institutions of this class are overcrowded quarters and hurried consultations. The admirable building plans presented by the authors, their emphasis on provisions for administrative coördination and clerical and technical assistance and record keeping, and their demand for the development of a paid medical staff, are all in line with progressive dispensary ideals. Since the dispensary, like the hospital, should follow Virchow's maxim, "Treat not only the disease—treat also the man," the development of a social-service department for diagnosis of other than medical ills, for advice to the individual, and for assistance in social coördination, is rightly presented as one essential feature of the institution.

Detailed suggestions in regard to the equipment and organization of clinics, the routine of admissions, the keeping of records (of such records and only such records as are "useful, usable, and used"), and the follow-up work necessary in order to secure a maximum of efficiency will be found most helpful to dispensary workers.

The funds necessary to maintain the greater dispensary of the future the authors believe will be obtained by the development of pay clinics (of which the Mayo brothers' clinic at Rochester, Minnesota, is an example on a grand scale), by establishing relationships with the large number of small manufacturers interested in industrial medicine, by arrangements with mutual insurance groups, by appropriations for public dependents such as now exist in the case of hospitals, and by other public appropriations for more definitely preventive work as a part of the health budget. In this latter connection they review the remarkable developments which have taken place in special clinics for the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis, of diseases of infants (including prenatal care), of diseases and physical defects of school children, of psychiatric affections, of industrial diseases, and of venereal diseases; and they discuss with just approval the modern tendency to coördinate these public-health specialties in local health centres, which shall emphasize visibly the broad unity of all forms of public-health work and render all the preventive medical service needed by all the people within a defined district.

Even the lay reader cannot fail to be impressed with the broad picture of a coördination which will bring practically the whole of the medical profession into one organized plan of service. Throughout the city there should be health centres doing primarily preventive work; for larger population units district dispensaries equipped to do good general dispensary work; and in each considerable city a teaching dispensary providing facilities for difficult diagnosis and for medical education and research. Mr. Davis and Dr. Warner do not leap, as some might do, to the conclusion that this entire organization must ultimately be publicly supported and freely provided for the general good, as elementary education has been supported and provided for a hundred years. We may be content with the demonstration they offer that in the future the resources of medical science must in the main be applied in an organized way through the hospital and the dispensary rather than in the casual individualistic fashion of earlier days.

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The War at Sea

Mahan on Naval Warfare: Selections from the Writings of Admiral Mahan. By Allan Westcott. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.
The Navy as a Fighting Machine. By B. A. Fiske. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
The Fighting Fleets. By Ralph D. Paine. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. $2.00.
The Silent Watchers. By Bennett Copplestone. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.
The Achievement of the British Navy in the World War. By John Leyland. New York: George H. Doran Company.

IT is quite natural that of books relating to the war the vast majority should deal with military operations which are, as a rule, much more spectacular and thrilling than those of the sister service. Individual deeds of valor are of common occurrence on the battlefield, but in a sea fight the man's actions and fate are merged into those of his ship. In fact, the efficiency of the naval work done during this war may almost be measured by the infrequency with which the machine itself is mentioned. It seems to be true of the navy, as of any good mechanism, that when it does its best work it runs noiselessly. Occasionally, however, the veil of secrecy which hides its activities from the public eye is lifted, and we are able to catch a glimpse of what is happening upon the seas.

For example, there have recently come into our hands a number of books which show that interest in the navy is still alive. Out of the list, we may say that "Selections from the Writings of Admiral Mahan," by Professor Allan Westcott of the Naval Academy, and a popular edition of Admiral Fiske's "The Navy as a Fighting Machine" are valuable even if not exactly new. In view of the tremendous influence which Mahan had upon the naval development of Germany as well as of other powers, a résumé of his principal teachings is timely. Professor Westcott has condensed into a few chapters the salient features of Mahan's work, and has done it so skilfully as to take away from the work the appearance of being made up of mere quotations. Admiral Fiske's book was reviewed in the *Nation* of December 14, 1916.

Mr. Ralph D. Paine, the well-known writer on naval subjects, gives us "The Fighting Fleets," which is advertised as "the first authorized account description of American naval activities 'over there.'" The book is exceedingly readable, as might be expected from its subject and its author, but the limitations under which it was written have barred out many details, in whole or in part. One may, however, read between the lines of much not openly described. Mr. Paine enjoyed wonderful opportunities of going afloat in our own vessels and those under foreign flags and, so far as he was permitted, has succeeded in giving an intimate view of the essential aims and the ruling *esprit* of the British, French, and American navies. He gives generous and unstinted praise to the unobtrusive work of our destroyers, our convoy vessels, our submarine chasers, and even our battle ships, and he leaves the reader with the comfortable feeling that our navy has in no way fallen short of its best and highest traditions. Though it has had no opportunity of proving, in actual conflict, how well it can fight, it has already shown how well it can watch and defend.

John Leyland's "Achievement of the British Navy in the World War" is a small volume written with intimate knowledge of the facts. A pleasing feature is its whole-souled appreciation of the wonderful work done by the British merchant sailors in patrolling, in sweeping for mines, and in operating against the German submarines. Like Mr. Paine's book, it is well illustrated, and, also like Mr. Paine's book, it is largely a straightforward and unvarnished statement of the facts in the case. The deeds of the navy wherever they are told, are so dramatic in themselves as to need no embellishment.

On the other hand, "The Silent Watchers," by Bennett Copplestone, dwells particularly upon certain episodes of the war, and undertakes, among other things, a searching analysis of the battle of Jutland. Mr. Copplestone has endeavored, and successfully, to impart to his narrative a certain literary charm and even at times a poetic touch, which raise it above the level of mere annals.

Wanderings in Brigand-Land

Byways in Southern Tuscany. By Katharine Hooker. New York: Scribners. $3.50.

OF making many books—about Italy, there is no end. The paragon of nations, possessed of a vast and unequalled store of art treasures, of historical records, the repository of tribes and peoples, Etruscan, Roman, Goth, Norman, it has attracted students from every branch of learning. The traveller on its beaten paths believes nothing is left to write about. The searcher-out of hidden nooks finds still a rabble to whom an American is a wonder, spots where the noses of Baedeker's ubiquitous workers have not poked. Katharine Hooker, a descendant of the Puritans, a lover of the Italian Renaissance, and of the more barbaric years before, has discovered such a tract and pictured it in a book, "Byways in Southern Tuscany."

The country she explored at her leisure lies, roughly bounded, south of Siena and west of the two lakes, Trasimeno and Bolsena. Two great railroads—Rome-to-Florence, Rome-to-Pisa—skirt its sides, and only the scurrying diligence gives access to its forgotten and ruined cities. Marian O. Hooker has added to the book sixty full-page photographic reproductions, originally made by her camera, exquisitely posed and wisely chosen. The volume has been made up so that each illustration faces its corresponding text. George Carlson is credited with a series of charming sketches made from further photographs. The author declares in her preface: "I have purposely dwelt more at length upon those places that have been least written about in English and briefly on those that others have already described." Her New England conscience has kept her rigidly to her promise; for she only casually mentions Buonconvento, Montepulciano, Pienza, though none of these can be called tourist-haunted. Even the Sodomas at Buonconvento are seldom visited. An extensive Bibliography, largely of books written in Italian, proves how closely the author has studied the ruins she haunted.

Such a book can be approached from the point of daily jauntings—for, making her base at Siena, the author went forth in a hired automobile for a few days at a time—as a historian, an archæologist, a student of architecture. Really good pictures are too few in this war-swept region to fill a book. Katharine Hooker has gone as a traveller and dwells on the romance of Tuscany's wild history. The method necessitates repetition, but only enough to fasten the facts in the brain of the reader. She begins the account of each trip with a lively gossip of her own adventures, the dirty inns and the clean, the chivalrous boys and the stone-throwing, the squalid homes and the thrifty, presenting a vivid view of present-day conditions before she delves into the history of each place. What art-treasures there are she mentions, but is more enthusiastic over buildings than pictures, most eloquent over the rugged scenery and the handsome inhabitants. The pages glow with a fervid love of the land.

The history of Southern Tuscany was solemn with man's inhumanity to man—and nature's. The story of the Etruscan and Roman years is lightly dwelt upon, but the mediæval are sketched at length. Cleverly chosen passages from old chronicles fill the pages, gaunt and horrible or comical in their naïveté. The robber lords, blue-eyed, golden-haired or red-headed, roosted on their pinnacles behind walls of tremendous thickness and pounced down upon every traveller. They fought incessantly with the darker-complexioned inhabitants of the hustling cities, Siena and Florence, rebelled against the Papacy, and with every foray swept the fields naked of inhabitants. They out-Germaned the modern Germans whose kin they were. After a siege, and during it, the towns-people were hanged, hewn down, carried off as slaves. Nor were the cities a whit behind in ugly barbarity. Their revenges were bitter. When they finally did compel these mountain families to dwell for a part of the year within the municipality, the tale of the Montagues and Capulets was everywhere repeated. The tragedies of Juliet and of Francesca da Rimini were every-day occurrences. This book is crammed with them. The women suffered most of all. At the end the country-folk were annihilated and the whole land impoverished.

Then the rivers turned to swamps, the malaria swept in from the coastal towns, populous cities—like Savona—became such pitiable ruins that Baedeker to-day passes them by unheeded.

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After the counts came the brigands. Miss Hooker meets these with a delightful zest and recounts vivacious narratives of their adventures. Boccaccio himself is no more in love with them.

A colorful and excellent map is used as a lining for both covers and adds to the value of the volume. The great ruined castles are both located and photographed for the reader.

Notes

ON November 30 Marshall Jones Company will publish "The League of Nations To-day and To-morrow," by Ralph S. Rounds and H. M. Kallen.

"Passed as Censored," by Captain Bernheim, is shortly to be published by the J. B. Lippincott Company.

PROFESSOR DAVID SAVILLE MUZZEY has written a pleasing and conventional "Life of Thomas Jefferson" (Scribners; $1.50), which will be read with great profit even by those who profess a wide knowledge of the larger biographies and the sources of the Jeffersonian age. It is pleasing because it is a smooth-flowing narrative stressing fairly all of the outstanding events in the career of America's first great party leader. It is conventional because it attempts no new interpretation of the man or his age, and gives a thoroughly orthodox account of the partisan cleavage which split the country at the end of the eighteenth century. For example, to give only one, we are told on page 177 that according to the theory of probability Jefferson the feudal slave holder should have been an aristocratic Federalist and Hamilton, the climber from Nevis, should have been the people's own democrat. In other words, the descendant of a yeoman whose every interest was in the soil should have been the leader of the capitalistic faction, while the Wall Street lawyer who by sheer will and genius had climbed to wealth and influence should have been the "natural leader" of the party of the planters and debt-laden farmers fighting against a funding and banking system that laid a heavy burden on the produce of the soil! Mr. Muzzey's book will be read with profit because it is written in a spirit of admiration for Jefferson's liberalism, and reveals the side of the sage's character that sadly needs study in these days. It is not too much to say that the essay may be satisfying to the shade of the great departed. Jefferson was intensely human, a wily politician, and a successful dealer in political goods, a first-class hater, and a shrewd manipulator of the passions and prejudices of men. In that he partook of our clay. But he was more; in those silent and intense hours which he cherished, he learned to know, as all the great and good have known, that the spirit of liberty is imperishable and will prevail even against the gates of hell. No doubt the faith was sometimes dimmed as he cursed the election returns or despaired in darker days. But fundamentally he attached himself to the things of the spirit, though disdaining not the ways of the flesh. The simple words on his tomb tell to the world the story of the real Jefferson. In the spirit of those words Mr. Muzzey has written this biography. It is interesting to note in passing that the last chapter is headed with Jefferson's words: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." Mr. Muzzey is a professor in Columbia University and the monument to Jefferson still stands in front of Mr. Butler's School of Journalism.

SINCE Romain Rolland's "Beethoven" was translated last year, his English-speaking audience has enlarged and become diversified. His two plays, "The Fourteenth of July" and "Danton" (Holt; $1.50), might have been written for a people's theatre without the hope that an audience of the people would be able to grasp the author's philosophy of revolution. In "The Fourteenth of July" we are shown of what stuff revolution is made. In the first act, the scene in the garden of the Palais Royal fills one, as it proceeds, with a sense of ferment without definite cause or clear-eyed purpose. Although we are introduced, among a rabble of vagabonds, workingmen, prostitutes, and swindlers, to such well-known personages as Marat, Desmoulins, Hoche, and Robespierre, there is not one character which shows any particular sympathy for the people who are to make the revolution successful. Desmoulins is a cynic and something of an opportunist. Robespierre, with his declaration of rights, is a pallid creature who has only fine phrases to give the people. Hoche, however, is flesh and blood; he has humor and imagination. Marat is parchment, dry and unimaginative. It is a little child, Julie, who asks for the Bastille. "A little child shall lead them," is surely not the inference to be drawn from this example. Again, it is Julie in the second act who asks for liberty. And everything moves towards the fall of the Bastille and the dawn of liberty from these two desires of the child. As a spectacle, if produced on a large scale, the play could undoubtedly be made exceedingly impressive, though its philosophy might be overlooked. There are strong scenes in it, and some of the characters are drawn with a shrewd touch. The Man in the second act is an excellent study, and in the scene with Vintimille we reach a fundamental in character. The free vagabond who glories in the idea of liberty falls a prey to the coin of an aristocrat, loses his sense of freedom, and hastens away to drown his suffering in drink. As it is with the vagabond who has discovered that he is free so long as temptation is not thrown in his way, so it is with all the fine phrase-makers. We feel that they might be tempted by the coin of political power, and where they would not tolerate tyranny from a Louis, they would not hesitate, for the sake of liberty, or the republic, or the people, or whatever fine name they wish to choose for their own ambitions, to exercise tyranny in a way that would make even Louis XIV blush. Mr. Clark, the translator, was wise in publishing "Danton" together with "The Fourteenth of July." The two plays make excellent reading. And they go better together than they would in separate volumes. "Danton" is less of a play for the stage than "The Fourteenth of July." In the latter there are colors, crowds, exciting scenes, and much comedy. "Danton" is drab. This play must be regarded as one of the important contributions to the literature of the French Revolution. M. Rolland has put into three short acts as many well-drawn historical characters as most modern authors give us in the whole library of their plays. It is, however, no play for the people's theatre. The people who should understand the lesson to be drawn from it would be left in despair of reforming society. "Are revolutions worth the candle? Is it too late for most of the peoples of the world to learn what liberty is?" This is the question that will be uppermost in the reader's mind after laying the book aside. Perhaps the time is ripe for a worldwide campaign of an educative character which would after the next revolution insure the triumph of liberty. In such a campaign these two plays might be effectively used in the way of warning seekers of liberty what not to do.

THE Rev. T. Dempsey's work on "The Delphic Oracle" (Longmans; $2) was originally written as a thesis for the Master's degree at the National University of Ireland, and is here republished in an enlarged form at the suggestion of Dr. R. S. Conway, who read the original in his capacity of university examiner. In it is collected all extant information about the shrine with the history of its connection successively with the cults of Gæa and Themis, and later with those of Dionysus, Poseidon, and Apollo. As regards the cause of the priestess's ecstasies, the author points out that the theory of a mephitic vapor rests wholly on the authority of later writers, and he thinks that the source of inspiration must be sought elsewhere, possibly in telepathy or even in such demonic possession as is described in a well-known passage of the Acts of the Apostles. A selection of some of the more important of the oracle's vaticinations is here given, notably, of course, the ambiguous and misleading one delivered to Croesus,

Κροῖσος Ἅλυν διαβὰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει,

and the celebrated "last oracle," uttered to Oribasius, the physician of Julian the Apostate—probably the most impressive of all prophetic deliverances, Delphic or other:

εἰπατε τῳ βασιλῆι· χαμαὶ πέσε δαίδαλος αὐλά.
οὐκέτι φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβαν, οὐ μάντιδα δάφναν,
οὐ παγὰν λαλέουσαν· ἀπέσβετο καὶ λάλον ὕδωρ.

IN "The Arbitral Determination of Railway Wages" (Houghton Mifflin; $1.50), J. Noble Stockett, jr., expresses dissatisfaction with the usual settlements of wage disputes because they rest on expediency and compromise. He examines the arbitration cases conducted under the Erdman, Newlands, and Industrial Disputes Investigation Acts; the Eastern Engineers' Arbitration of 1912; and the Western Engineers' and Firemen's

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Arbitration of 1915. Four principles, he finds, were employed: standardization, the living wage, increased cost of living, and increased productive efficiency; each of which is closely studied in a separate chapter. The events of August, 1916, and the Adamson Act receive no attention. Perhaps if the author had lived to carry on his studies and outgrow the academic limitations of the struggle for a doctor's degree, he would have thought more broadly on the nature of the settlements which he condemns as mere compromises. This study is, however, a meritorious performance; it systematically collects and analyzes the formal evidence presented in the cases cited.

AMONG collections lately issued by the University of Chicago Press is "Readings in the Economics of War" ($3). The task of editing has been performed by J. Maurice Clark, Walton H. Hamilton, and Harold G. Moulton. A foreword by Shadwell truly remarks that "when this war comes to be reviewed in proper perspective its social and economic aspects will be found at least as remarkable as the military events, and perhaps more instructive." The book deals with the economic background of the war, the required reorganization, and the problem of subsequent reorganization for peace. The selections given range from the classical statements of Friedrich List and Gustav Schmoller through varied topics to the concluding programmes of the British Labor party and the Fourteen Points; the editors have offered a generous and, on the whole, representative case-book. While individual authors and many periodicals are duly credited with the material for which they are responsible, we find a large number of statements, some of them very important, whose source is given simply as "An editorial" without more definite information. Sections XI, XII, and XIII are of immediate importance, for they respectively deal with "Prices and price control," "Labor and the War," and "The costs of the war."

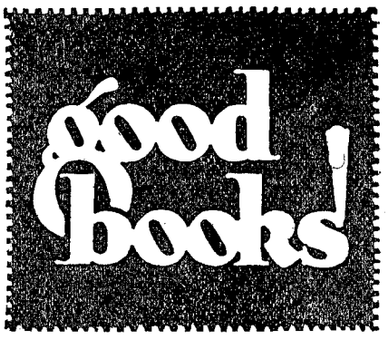
ALTHOUGH a book of British propaganda, "Sea Power and Freedom" (Putnam; $3.50), by Gerard Fiennes, is nevertheless one of considerable interest. It is based upon the theory —so ably presented in Admiral Mahan's "The Influence of Sea Power in History"—that naval dominance has been of far greater importance in the world's history than is generally believed; it furthermore attempts to prove that this force has been applied in the interests of freedom from ancient times to the present date, and also that the British navy has been the instrument of peace, law, and liberty, keeping open the highways of the sea. The argument, however, is not convincing even though we accept the text version of some historic events and refrain from recalling others which remain unmentioned. That Great Britain has in the main exerted her sea power for the benefit of mankind is true; yet there are many who cannot believe that it has been in the interests of freedom, except when those interests also contributed to Britain's business welfare. It is admitted by the writer that the causes of the British and Dutch conflicts are best summed up in the words of Monk, "What matters this or that reason? What we want is more of the trade which the Dutch now have"; and again it is stated, "however justified the complaints of the Danes might have been, the issue at stake demanded they should be laid aside if need be."

FREDERICK COLEMAN'S "Japan or Germany" (Doran; $1.35) discusses the question of Japanese intervention in Siberia. The author has very little patience with Japanophobia. Even admitting the selfishness of much of Japan's past policy, he points out that others of the Allied peoples have not been faultless, and their change of heart, he maintains, is due mainly to their united effort in a great cause. That Japan has shared in this change of heart Mr. Coleman is convinced. It is unnecessary to point out that the author displays no comprehension of the vast significance of the Russian revolution. Writers who interpret present world events solely in terms of material and military advantage for the Allied Powers are likely to do little but mischief.

IN "My Lorraine Journal" (Harpers; $1.60) Mrs. O'Shaughnessy chronicles her impressions of war-time France, from Paris to Verdun. It contains little that is new either in matter or in point of view, and is written in the style to which her books on Mexico have accustomed us. For ourselves we feel chiefly indebted to her for preserving the following gem from *L'Horizon*, a trench newspaper: "Nature is kind. She places the remedy near the ill and often cures, as one has seen, evil by evil. A woman too much loved sent me a letter so cruel that I didn't even have the strength to tear it up, but carried it around in my pocket for weeks. One night, being quartered in a stable, I took my coat off and hung it up. The next day, no letter. A cow had eaten it. Nature is kind." Very different is Hector McQuarrie's "Over Here" (Lippincott; $1.35). The book contains the author's impressions of America and is the work of a keen observer and a brilliant writer. In America he says that he has been treated with a kindness that surpasses anything he thought possible in this world.

ALL that scholars of many climes have ever written about manuscripts and paleography has been neatly condensed into one hundred and seventy pages by Mr. Perry Wayland Sinks, in a little book called "The Reign of the Manuscript" (Badger; $1.25). Meanwhile the publishers of Everyman's Library have added the capital "Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz" (Dutton; 70 cents) to their ever-increasing series. It is pleasant to get first-hand information about the good old Fronde of the early seventeenth century. The Bolsheviki of three centuries ago were rather pleasant people.

A GOOD idea of the part played by the western forests in the life of this country can be obtained by reading "Our National Forests" (Macmillan; $2.50), by R. H. D. Boerker. This book gives a complete and readable account of the 150,000,000 acres of lands on which the Federal Government is practicing forestry. The author goes back to the beginning of the effort to conserve these natural resources and shows the reasons that led up to the gradual change in the policy of the Government, which has finally resulted in the common-sense treatment of the forested lands that still remain under Government control. He explains the present organization of the United States Forest Service, telling something of each of its many activities, and shows how it manages the forests. The protection of these areas from fire, trespass, insects, erosion, and other agencies is



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dealt with, and finally the way in which the resources of the forests are made available to the people is discussed. These resources include the timber, grazing, water power, and many minor ones. Mr. Boerker writes a well-balanced book, being neither over-critical nor too free with praise. While he devotes little space to lauding the forest Service, it is easy to read between the lines that he considers it an efficient organization, free from graft and favoritism, and with high ideals. He shows the elimination of red tape and the constant effort to make the Bureau serve the public as directly and quickly as possible. "Our National Forests" is copiously illustrated with photographs, many of them by the author, which show the wide variety of the activities of the Service. It is to be regretted that such a full and interesting account of this important part of western life was not deemed worthy of more careful editing.

VALUABLE and welcome is the contribution of "Health and State" (Dutton; $4 net) by Dr. William A. Brend, the prominent English expert. In this as in many other fields where public opinion seems to contemplate the adoption of European methods, much may be gained from studying an accurate account of the results obtained abroad. While we may not, for example, be able to contrive an infallible system which will satisfy the more ardent advocates of State health insurance, we can at least avoid some of the blunders made by the students who first presented the British National Insurance Act. While necessarily somewhat technical and of varying merit, Dr. Brend's treatment of his main topics—infant mortality and medical work among the working classes—deserves high commendation.

VIVID vignettes of London and Paris in the days before war had blighted their normal life, and impressionistic sketches of the changed conditions wrought by the conflict are John F. Macdonald's "Two Towns—One City" (Dodd, Mead; $2 net). The practiced hand of the journalist is evident in its distribution of light and shade, its adjustment of dramatic values, its keen interpretation of French and British traits. The habit of the novelist has lent a like vividness to Winston Churchill's chronicle in "A Traveller in War-Time" (Macmillan; $1.25), of experiences in Great Britain and France, both at the front and behind the lines. The kaleidoscopic succession of pictures that constitutes the first half of Mr. Churchill's book, interesting though it is, is of less significance than the essay appended to it on "The American Contribution and the Democratic Idea," in which the author sets forth much sane and discriminating comment on the American national character.

THE broad current of modern popular fiction swiftly flows towards the deep ocean of literary oblivion. Siren-like the heroines of many novels wave their white arms at the indifferent people on shore. More strenuous heroes dive and splash and cleave the waves with the broad strokes of their sinuous muscle, and we turn our backs upon them. All alone, in his little pinnace, his hat well upon the back of his head, the red tie flaming against the grey checks of his suit, there appears one Peter Squem "Mr. Squem and Some Male Triangles" (Doran; $1), by Arthur Russell Taylor. Peter does not fire guns, he does not save life, he does not startle the gaping shore-dwellers with his theories of the millennium. He cogitates, talks, and smokes. And the grateful listener rushes down the banks of this polluted stream to catch a few words of frank and original comment. Only a short distance, alas! There is a sudden crash, and Peter B. Squem disappears from view, forever. But we are grateful for this short glimpse of an honest man. We rarely find him on the dismal river of our current fiction. The "Famous Ghost Stories" (Crowell; $1.25) of J. W. McSpadden will no doubt please the people who like what Mr. McSpadden calls dyed-in-the-wool ghosts. Others had better put their money into Liberty loans. Thomas L. Masson's "Best Short Stories" (Doubleday, Page; $1) contains a few hundred jokes. Since the Farmer's Almanac has ceased printing this variety of wit, such stories must needs find another home—in this case a home for the very aged.

IN the "Handbook of Furniture Styles" (Century; $1.50 net), Mr. Walter A. Dyer has compiled a concise survey. The volume will serve as the primer of a fascinating and useful subject. There are illustrations of the various important styles of furniture reproduced from photographs in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum, together with a chronological table and a carefully constructed index. This is one of several books on the applied arts produced by Mr. Dyer, which may be read with pleasure and profit even by those persons not expert in the arts.

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Drama

"The Betrothal"

IN his production of "The Betrothal," Maeterlinck's sequel to "The Blue Bird," in the Shubert Theatre, Mr. Winthrop Ames has scored another notable artistic success. That the piece will rival its predecessor in popularity can scarcely be doubted, if only because in both the main topic is one of universal interest. In the problems of time and eternity there is an indestructible fascination, even when treated, as they are here, in the lightest terms of airy fantasy. The pervasive charm of both these dream plays lies in the constant suggestion of a deeper thought beneath the imaginative whimsies of fairy spectacle. This happy blend of the grotesque and true, the visionary, sentimental, and purely human, can be effected only by the magic of genius.

The tendency to regard these dream adventures of Tyltyl, in his search of happiness and a wife, as the formal exposition of a personal philosophy may not be altogether fair. Certainly the elaboration of "The Blue Bird" theory that the dead have the privilege of resurrection in the memories of the living is no very substantial addition to the sum of human hopes of eternity, while in some of its applications it leads to hopeless bewilderment. Fortunately it is easy to enjoy the poet without heeding the philosopher and to recognize the elements of scientific truth and wholesome moral, enforced by poetic license. The soberness of the allegory in no way interferes with the joys or prettiness of the spectacle. Herein consists the artistic merit of the whole representation. To tell the story in detail would be tedious. Tyltyl is seventeen and is visited in his dreams by our old friend the fairy Berylune, who tells him that it is high time that he fell in love. A magic sapphire brings before him all the girls he has ever met, a bevy of frank and (magically) unsophisticated young beauties who woo him unrestrainedly, and he is bidden to make his choice. But he is warned that upon the wisdom of his selection depends the happiness not only of himself and the fair, but of his race and posterity. That no mistake in a matter so vital be made it is necessary that the spirits of her ancestors and of future generations be consulted—and so a pilgrimage is undertaken under the guidance of a colossal figure of Destiny, who claims supreme direction of affairs, and Light, before whose gaze he constantly shrinks and withers. Armed with golden treasure by a miser, who is strangely converted to benevolence by the magic sapphire, he reaches the abode of his ancestors, where he is greeted by a motley group of ancient knights, prelates, free-booters, murderers, knaves, and grave and reverend signiors, all headed by a gigantic cave-man, the original founder, who discourses gravely of racial responsibilities and explains to the astonished Tyltyl that he is the concentrated essence of all his progenitors, that his interests and theirs are indissoluble, and that therefore they must help him choose his proper mate. Poor Tyltyl is obliged to submit, but none of the accompanying maidens can fulfil the test except a veiled figure whom he declares to be entirely unknown to him. Therefore he is bidden to seek the abode of the children hereafter to be born, whose sure instinct will reveal to them their destined mother, who, of course, proves to be the mysterious veiled figure. In the last act, the discredited Destiny has shrunk into a puling infant, and the bride elect is revealed in the person of Joy, the little girl to whom Tyltyl once gave the Blue Bird, and whom he had forgotten.

So bald an outline is necessarily unjust to a conception whose charm resides in its unrestricted play of fancy and its variety of minor but illuminative detail. Sage reflection and bits of keen human insight are adroitly mingled with the freakish extravagances of unfettered childish imagination. The dialogue is exceedingly unpretentious in its simplicity—suggests, indeed, in places the possibilities of inadequate translation. The drift of the philosophy, if so serious a word may be employed, is not always clear. It is not easy, for instance, to reconcile the ignominious rejection of Destiny as an influence in the affairs of men with the condition imposed upon Tyltyl in his choice of a bride. But on the other hand, there can be no question of the essential wisdom from both the racial and the domestic point of view, of the matrimonial precepts of both the gifted Cave-Man and the Fairy Berylune. Such an ancestral council might avert many disastrous unions. But the intimation that such alliances may have an injurious retroactive influence upon the dead adds

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new terrors to the grave. The unborn babes who have the privilege of selecting their mothers are in much better case than the departed grandsires at the mercy of their posterity. Fortunately these speculations are based only on the unsubstantial fabric of a vision, and it is the preëminent merit of this production of Mr. Ames's that it succeeds in preserving the visionary character of the incidents while giving them material form. The general background of the action is supplied largely by flowing curtains in neutral tints, or delicately painted, which are equally capable of suggesting a mystical atmosphere or solid structures, while they are especially effective in the gradual disclosure of the more elaborate pictures, which in coloring, spaciousness, and brilliancy of design are eminently representative of fairlyland. Particularly notable are The Miser's Cave, The Fairy's Ball Room, The Abode of the Ancestor, and The Abode of the Children, but the whole representation is a fine example of modern stage pictorial art. And the general performance—the costuming, the groupings, and the dancing—is equally admirable. The enactment of the rival brides, by pupils of Isadora Duncan, is charming in its physical grace and capable in individual acting. The Cave-Man of Augustin Duncan is picturesque and eloquent and Cecil Yapp makes an outstanding figure of the miser, while the Light of Edith Wynne Matthison is beautiful in gesture and in speech. Reginald Sheffield, too, plays Tyltyl very cleverly and boyishly. In short, this is an achievement which is, in almost every respect, a credit to the local stage, and the effect of it is enhanced by the efficient musical accompaniment of an admirable orchestra. J. R. T.

Finance

Abandoning War-Time Restrictions

THE proposal to amalgamate the various administrations and boards that have been created for service during the war period and to direct the work of reorganization of American industry through a single Government body gives interest to the efforts of the Federal authorities to shift from a war basis to a peace basis with as little disturbance as possible. Such a merger would mean the unification of the War Industries Board, the Food Administration, the Fuel Administration, the War Trade Board, the War Labor Administration, and other Government agencies. It will be no easy task to abandon the machinery created by these agencies, whose activities have touched every department of American trade.

A development of much significance has been the action of the War Industries Board in cancelling all outstanding priority ratings on commodities, products, and materials, with the creation of a new preference list which will promote the production and distribution of goods and merchandise for the civil population and for reconstruction purposes. This gives emphasis to the restoration of normal business and the gradual abandonment by the Government of the numerous regulations and restrictions designed to speed up the production of all war work. It is evident therefore that the Government authorities will lift the restrictions on civilian production as much as possible in the effort to enable manufacturers, producers, and business men to readjust their business to a normal basis again.

Representatives of most of the forty-two industries that have been affected by the Government's curtailment policy will confer with the Washington authorities in the near future in the effort to make the transition period as nearly shock-proof as is possible in connection with the coming readjustment. There is reason to believe that at this coming conference a basis of agreement will be arrived at which will make it possible for the authorities to speed up the readjustment process and thus get the country back to a peace basis as soon as possible.

The situation is absolutely unparalleled, and because of the vast interests involved, it is of the highest importance that industry in general should be relieved from war restrictions as soon as the Government can make the necessary readjustments. In the building trade alone various projects calling for an aggregate investment of $450,000,000 will be taken up as soon as the necessary formalities can be complied with. A vast amount of business had to be deferred during the war period when it was necessary for the Government to borrow heavily from the banks. With the signing of the armistice, this situation has changed, and American industry has been virtually

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relieved of the war hazard. Each industry has its own problem to work out, and the situation at the moment has been complicated by the cancellation of various Government contracts involving an immense amount of war work. The manufacturers will be protected from financial loss growing out of the abandonment of these contracts.

But the situation is full of interesting possibilities, and under wise leadership there is reason to believe that the shifting of American industry to a peace basis can be carried on successfully and without tedious delays. Secretary McAdoo's decision to abandon Liberty loan flotations in favor of successive offerings of notes maturing within a few years has been well received by the banking community. The Government will not have the slightest difficulty in obtaining through sales of such notes whatever money it requires to liquidate necessary war outlays and care adequately for those costs of reconstruction for which the Federal authorities will have to provide.

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International Relations Section

Vol. CVII NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1918 No. 2787

Italy and Greece in the Mediterranean

By THEODORE P. ION

THE diplomatic tension between Italy and Greece in regard to the final disposition of certain possessions in the Ægean and Adriatic seas which were formerly under the control of the Ottoman Porte, although denied or minimized by the official spokesmen of both countries, is not only a fact, but an occasion as well of no little embarrassment to the statesmen of the Entente Powers. This antagonism between Italian nationalistic claims to lands and people which have nothing in common with Italy either by reason of territorial contiguity or racial affinity, and Hellenic aspirations which are founded on both contiguity of territory and homogeneity of nationality, has from its beginning strained the cordial relations which formerly existed between the Governments of Italy and Greece, and given rise to bitter ill-feeling between the Italians and the Hellenic people.

The first signs of this estrangement between Italy and Greece, and between the Italians and the Greeks within and without the Hellenic kingdom, appeared when the Italian Government showed a strong disposition to transform the twelve Greek islands, known as the Dodecanesos, which have been under its military occupation since the Italo-Turkish war of 1911-1912, into real Italian colonies.

To this is to be added the determination of Italy to incorporate in the much-heralded and newly-created Albanian state northern Epirus, a region to which Italian and Austrian diplomacy, for political reasons of its own, gave the name of Southern Albania—a name contrary to tradition, history, and the ethnology of its inhabitants.

In a word, the Italo-Hellenic conflict is centered in the Dodecanesos and Northern Epirus. It is the first of these two questions that will be examined in this article.

The Dodecanesos, strictly speaking, consists of the islands of Icaria, Patmos, Leros, Calymnos, Astypalea (Stampalia), Nissyros, Telos, Symi, Halki, Carpathos, Cassos, and Castellorizo; but Icaria is under Greek occupation, and Castellorizo, since the European war broke out, has been occupied by France. It is the first ten of these islands, together with Rhodes and Cos, which are now under the occupation of Italy, and which constitute today the so-called Dodecanesos. The population numbers about 143,000 Greeks, 4,500 Turks, and 2,500 Jews. The early history of the Dodecanesos, like that of other Greek islands, goes back to the borderland between mythology and history. Pindar tells us how Apollo, being absent when Jupiter distributed the world's possessions to the other gods, later succeeded by artifice in securing for himself the island of Rhodes. According to Homer, the islands, or some of them, furnished vessels to the Grecian fleet in the expedition against Troy. In historical times, one of them acquired fame as the birthplace of Hippocrates and the seat of a medical school founded by the famous Greek physician of antiquity. The part played by Rhodes—the metropolis, so to speak, of the Dodecanesos—both in Hellenic times and during the Roman period is well-known to students of Greek and Roman history; while even to many who know little of history the Colossus of Rhodes is a familiar name. The island of Patmos, the scene of the Revelation of St. John the Divine, has from the first century been regarded with reverence by Christians.

Notwithstanding the conquest of the islands by various nations, and their subjection to a foreign yoke for many centuries, the Dodecanesians have never lost their Hellenic character. The islands took an active part in the war of Greek Independence (1821-29); their vessels joined the Greek revolutionary fleets and contributed to the liberation of Greece from Turkish tyranny. Several of them had even formed part of the early Hellenic state, but later they were detached from it by the Powers, were brought once more under Ottoman rule, and the privileges of self-government granted by the early Turkish conquerors summarily abolished.

In 1912, when Italy during its war with Turkey occupied the Dodecanesos, the inhabitants of the islands fancied that at last their age-long hopes of realizing their national aspirations and of being united with Greece were nearing fulfilment. It is worthy of note that during that war the Greek people in general looked upon the Italian experiment in Africa, notwithstanding its irregularity, with sympathy, not only because Turkey, the hereditary enemy of Hellenism, was now also the enemy of Italy, but also because it was rightly thought that the substitution of the rule of Victor Emmanuel for the misrule of the Sultan in Tripoli would confer a great benefit upon civilization. Accordingly, when the Italian troops landed at Rhodes, in May, 1912, the Rhodians welcomed them with joy and afforded to the Italian army such military assistance as was in their power. The same hearty welcome was extended to the Italians in all the other islands of the Dodecanesos which they occupied.

The hopes of the Dodecanesians were further heightened when General Ameglio, the commander-in-chief of the Italian army of occupation, assured them that his Government would not only show generosity towards the islanders, but would also respect "their customs and traditions." "I assure you," he declared, "in the most categorical manner, that after the termination of the Italo-Turkish war, the islands which are under the temporary occupation of Italy will receive an autonomous system of government and that the Turks will never return. I tell you this," he added, "both as a General and as a Christian, and you may consider my words as gospel truth."

The islanders naturally received these utterances of the official representative of Italy with gratification; but fearing lest silence on their part might be misunderstood, and at the same time wishing to make known, not only to the Italian Government and people but also to the rest of the world, their national aspirations, they secretly sent representatives to Patmos who, on June 17, 1912, meeting in assembly in the famous monastery of the Revelation of St. John the Divine,

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2. It declares the firm determination of the peoples of these Christian islands to submit to any sacrifice in order that they may not again come under the terrible tyranny of the Turks.
3. It proclaims the age-long national wish of the islanders for union with their motherland, Greece.

A copy of these resolutions was presented to General Ameglio, who, however, refused to receive it, and copies were also transmitted to the European powers.

This outburst of national feeling on the part of the Dodecanesians had no effect save to anger the Italian Government, and ever since that time the local authorities in the islands have tried, by various means, to suppress every nationalist movement and every expression of the sentiments of the people. Thus, the hoisting of the Greek flag, or any display whatever of the national colors of Greece, was forbidden; a number of the leading men of the islands were expelled, while others who were abroad were not permitted to return; newspapers from Greece were barred, and various petty restrictive measures were put into effect.

During the sessions of the London Conference of 1913, convened for the purpose of bringing the first Balkan war to an end by the conclusion of peace between Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria on the one side and Turkey on the other, the Dodecanesians, fearing lest, in spite of the official assurances of the Italian Government, the islands would be restored to Turkey as had been provided for by the Treaty of Lausanne, again passed resolutions reiterating their previous declaration, namely, their "unalterable determination to be united with their motherland, Greece." Such union, they asserted, was the only solution which would insure permanent peace, tranquility, happiness and progress. The Italian representatives, on the other hand, insisted that the question of the Dodecanesos should not be acted upon until Turkey had carried into effect the stipulations of the Treaty of Lausanne. It was the same Italian representatives who strenuously opposed the incorporation with Greece of the Greek islands of Mitylene and Chios, the occupation of which by Italy had been prevented principally by the opposition of Austria; but on this point Great Britain, France and Russia carried the day, and the two islands were annexed to Greece. The Italian Government itself did not deny that had it not been for the presence of its troops in the Dodecanesos during the Balkan War, Greece would have conquered the islands and made them a part of the Hellenic state. Thus, in a despatch to the Italian Ambassador at Vienna, February 12, 1912, Baron Sonnino, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, emphasized the fact that "Italy had rendered a signal service to Turkey," since these islands would have been inevitably acquired by Greece; and he added that "the Italian Government had learned that Turkey was very anxious that the Italian occupation should continue."

It became, in short, the settled policy of Italy, realizing as the Italian Government did that the Dodecanesians would under no circumstances acquiesce in the incorporation of the islands with the kingdom of Italy, to postpone the final solution of the question, evidently with the hope of making the temporary occupation permanent at the first convenient opportunity. The alleged non-execution of the Treaty of Lausanne by Turkey, and the refusal of Turkey to grant to Italy concessions in Asia Minor as compensation for the expenses incurred by Italy during the occupation of the Dodecanesos, were the arguments invariably resorted to whenever the question of the evacuation of the islands came up for discussion in the Italian Parliament or in the official declarations of Italian ministers to foreign Governments.

Ever since the entrance of Italy into the war on the side of the Entente Powers, the question has been asked what the attitude of the Italian Government would be in regard to the Dodecanesos at the future peace conference. How will Italy be able to reconcile her own claims to the Austrian territories inhabited by Italians with her desire to retain control of the twelve islands whose inhabitants are Greeks who long for union with Greece?

The answer to this question has been given indirectly by Italian ministers. The substance of their arguments is that, so far as the Dodecanesos or other territory in the Mediterranean which Italy covets is concerned, a departure from the principle of nationality may be justified by the doctrine of the balance of power. In other words, Italian statesmen of the school of Giolitti, whose views in this matter are reflected and championed by Baron Sonnino, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs, claim that while Italy is entitled to invoke the principle of nationality when it is a question of incorporating Italian populations now under foreign rule, the application of that principle may be waived if it happens to clash with the ambition of Italy for territorial expansion, and the doctrine of balance of power substituted. The further specious argument, often employed by Italian apologists for Italy's foreign policy, that since in former ages Italians had conquered the Dodecanesos and ruled the islands or some of them, the present Italian kingdom, being the inheritor of these one-time political entities, is justified in reasserting its claim to them, is in harmony with the preceding contention. The answer to this kind of sophistry would seem to be that if the Italians found their national claims on the so-called right of previous conquest, Austria may also be justified in laying claim to Venice and other parts of Italy on the plea that those territories were, at one time, under her sovereignty.

That Italy still persists in its intention of annexing the Dodecanesos is apparently evidenced by the fact that since the downfall of the imperial régime in Russia, and the renunciation by the Kerensky Government of the claims to Constantinople by the secret treaty concluded between the late Imperial Government and the Entente, the Italian Government on its side has not denounced the provisions of the secret Treaty of London under which the twelve islands are to be incorporated with Italy.

What should be kept in mind, in the face of such circumstances as these, is that the final disposition of the Greek islands does not alone concern the Greek and Italian Governments, but also the people who inhabit these islands. For Italy to put pressure upon the Greek Government in order to induce it to accept the Italian point of view in the solution of the question would be an injustice, for no state, and least of all a Government, can be regarded in this day as having a right to barter away the liberties or destinies of a people, especially a people connected with it by ties of race, language and common traditions. It should be the aim of the peace conference to solve this problem as it may be expected to solve other problems of a like nature—not according to the political exigencies of the moment, or with a view to reconciling conflicting interests and ambitions of

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Governments, but solely in conformity with the wishes of the people themselves. If self-determination is to be accepted as a principle capable of general application, the burden of proof will be upon the peace conference to show that the principle has not particular application in the case of the Dodecanesos.

The Schleswig-Holstein Problem

By JULIUS MORITZEN

WITH the war in western Europe practically at an end, certain questions only indirectly related to the beginning of hostilities and the subsequent development of the world struggle become once more of international importance. The Schleswig-Holstein question is of this sort. After the lapse of fifty-four years there are indications that long-deferred justice may at last be done to the Danish population of North Schleswig, among whom German oppression in a most offensive form has failed to stifle the hope of some day obtaining deliverance and of being united once more with the mother country, Denmark.

The settlement of the status of the Kiel (or Kaiser Wilhelm) Canal is already foreshadowed as a military necessity by the Allies, and doubtless will be so regarded by the peace conference. Whether or not this waterway, connecting the Baltic and the North Sea, shall be neutralized, it is certain that the control of the canal by Germany for naval purposes will be terminated. It is at this point that the question of Schleswig-Holstein arises. The primary basis for such decision as may be reached with respect to the return by Germany of any part of the territory taken from Denmark in 1864 will be, of course, the Treaty of Prague, concluded August 23, 1866. Article V of the treaty reads as follows:

> His Majesty the Emperor of Austria transfers to His Majesty the King of Prussia all the rights which he acquired by the Vienna Treaty of Peace of 30th October, 1864, over the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, with the condition that the populations of the Northern Districts of Schleswig shall be ceded to Denmark, if, by free vote, they express a wish to be united to Denmark.

Whatever reason Napoleon III may have had for securing the insertion of the plébiscite provision in the treaty which followed the defeat of Austria by Prussia, Denmark has never forgotten that it was French intervention which placed the seal of condemnation upon the taking of North Schleswig, and that the righteous settlement of the Schleswig-Holstein question was a matter of international concern. The feeling of resentment at the spoliation of Danish territory was only deepened when, in 1878, following the humiliation of France and the establishment of the German Empire, the provision for a restoration of the provinces by plébiscite was annulled.

Since the beginning of the war the Danish Government, as a matter of prudence and virtual necessity, has been silent in regard to Schleswig. With the theatre of war so close to the Danish peninsula, it would have been suicidal to tear open a wound never thoroughly healed; and for more than four years agitation for the recovery of North Schleswig had to cease. The only recourse was in the recollection of Gambetta's advice to the French regarding Alsace-Lorraine: "Never speak of it, always think of it." But when President Wilson, in his address of January 8, 1918, championed the cause of oppressed nationalities, Danish sympathizers with the grievances of Schleswig took fresh courage and the press began to speak out. If the newspaper discussion, which has gone on with increased activity since early in October, seems more cautious than might be expected, it must be remembered that neutrality still imposes limitations which a country in the peculiar position of Denmark may well observe.

Thus Professor L. V. Birck of the University of Copenhagen, an eminent economist, in a recent article in the Copenhagen *National Tidende*, the leading conservative organ, argues that "when the Danish government, at the outbreak of the war, declared its neutrality, the absolute will of the whole Danish people was expressed therein. Denmark has no quarrel with the Entente. As for Germany, it was recognized that the situation of Denmark might expose the country to the fate of Belgium; and no matter what the outcome of the war, a defeated Germany would still be many times stronger than we, and a neighbor with whose good will we should have to reckon. The neutrality was honest because no mental reservation was behind it." Then, passing to the question of self-determination, he continues:

> President Wilson's fourteen articles do not in so many words recognize a people's right of self-determination, but in a later address the President points out that the redrawing of the map of Europe must take account of the desires of the respective nationalities. In so far as the President shall apply this principle in a wider sense as a condition of political coöperation between the European nations, the question of North Schleswig, too, will have claims upon the President's attention.

The prevailing sentiment in Schleswig at the present time regarding the extent of the territory whose return to Denmark may rightfully be claimed is indicated in a recent speech in the German Reischstag by H. P. Hanssen, the representative since 1906 of North Schleswig. "The Chancellor," Mr. Hanssen declared, "has said that he wanted a peace of right and conciliation. As a representative of the Danish population and in the name of right and justice, I request the execution of the treaty of Prague, and I propose that the North Schleswig question shall be finally settled on the basis of the free self-determination of peoples when peace is made." In other words, the time has come when the Schleswig-Holstein question must be decided. Holstein appears to be a dead issue so far as the Danish South Jutlanders are concerned. The Kiel Canal, apparently, is as far south as their thoughts run when indisputable evidence as to what does and what does not belong to Denmark is considered; although, as has already been said, much depends upon the future control of the canal and the measures taken by the Allies to make it an international highway for commerce only. To the same effect is Professor Birck's reference, not to Schleswig-Holstein, but to North Schleswig alone. "It must be said clearly and plainly," he writes in the article just quoted, "that we do not wish a regulation of the frontier which merely shifts the injustice. We wish a regulation that will wipe it out. The history of Schleswig has given us a lesson that we ought not to forget. Therefore, we must have the right to declare that under no conditions will we be the guardians of the Kiel Canal."

The same contention is urged by Peschke Koeedt, a business man and a native of Flensborg, who writes in the *National Tidende:*

> Nobody wishes the two dukedoms of Schleswig and Holstein to be given back to Denmark, nor the Kiel Canal to be given

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over to the care of Denmark. Everybody agrees that the Germans, who are in the minority, and who by a frontier regulation happen to be Danish subjects, should preserve their language and culture. If any doubt should arise, necessitating the taking of a plébiscite, the people of Schleswig themselves must decide this, and if they decide that the frontier of language shall be the frontier of nationality, this decision must not be objected to, either from the German or Danish side.

It has been urged by those who favor the return of the whole of Schleswig-Holstein to Denmark that even the people of the southernmost of the two duchies could be counted on to vote affirmatively, and that the after-war taxes of Germany will be so heavy that escape from the insufferable burden will be accepted as joyfully by the Holsteiners as by the people of Schleswig. Be this as it may, a makeshift vote would rob the plébiscite of force and purpose. Neither Denmark nor the Schleswig Danes desire an artificial augmentation of territory. While it is true that the two duchies formed part of the Danish kingdom for hundreds of years, the conditions which led to the wars of 1848 and 1864 would by no means be eliminated by an arrangement that did not bear the hallmark of entire sincerity. It is this danger that the persons best qualified to judge wish to avoid. Denmark must be Danish through and through before the Schleswig-Holstein question can be regarded as settled either historically or geographically.

In the north, between a line drawn from Flensborg on the east coast of Jutland to Tonder on the west, and the southern boundary of Denmark proper, the evidence is incontestable that Danish sentiment prevails throughout. This is the North Schleswig whose heart-allegiance to Denmark brooks no contradiction. It is the section of South Jutland in which the hand of the oppressor has striven in vain to dull the Danish spirit of the people. This is the part of Schleswig which Mr. Hanssen told the German Chancellor wants its wrongs redressed. Here, German officialdom, German machination, and German cajoling have been unable to shake the determination of the people some day to be free. Thousands of the men of North Schleswig have fallen on the battlefields of Belgium and France in a cause which from the beginning they abhorred. No wonder, therefore, that throughout the more than four years of war the Danes of South Jutland have been praying silently for the success of the Allied arms. Whatever value may attach to the claim that the Danish frontier should be the Kiel Canal, for the section of Denmark between Flensborg-Tonder and the Kongsaa, Denmark rests its case on evidence so conclusive that even in Germany there is shame at the treatment of the North Schleswigers under a régime which, happily, has now come to an end.

Beginning with Hans Kruger, one of the two Danes whom Schleswig sent to the Reichstag in 1867, every Danish representative of the duchy has fought stoutly for the plébiscite promised in 1866. The names of Kruger, Lassen, Junggren, Johanssen, and Hanssen are those of honorable and courageous champions of Schleswig's claim to self-determination. In the Prussian Landtag as well as in the Reichstag, the representatives of Schleswig have been recognized by their opponents as men who spoke without fear.

An important part of the evidence in the case is the testimony of language. While the whole of South Jutland, with an area of some 3,500 square miles, contains about 430,000 inhabitants, less than 200,000 of that number are found in North Schleswig. On the other hand, in the greater part of Schleswig—that is, from the Kiel Canal to the Kongsaa—the original Danish is still the only language. It is, indeed, a noteworthy fact that the language frontier has not changed since 1864; and the fact that the Danish spoken in Schleswig is purer than that spoken in any other part of the country is an enlightening commentary upon what the people think in their hearts. A few months before the beginning of the war Klappenborg-Skrumsager, a member of the Prussian House from North Schleswig, declared in a full session of that body: "As long as we have had a history, during more than a thousand years, our two nationalities [Danish and German] have fought one another in Schleswig. It has required several centuries to advance the German language a few miles north. It is absolutely certain that we do not belong to Germany by love or by devotion, but only from necessity—because you would not give us freedom."

A study of the political situation in Schleswig since 1864 shows that the main task of the North Schleswigers has been to prove to Denmark, Germany and the world that a Danish Schleswig actually exists. The elections to the Reichstag are informing upon this point. In the first election after Schleswig-Holstein passed into the possession of Germany, of the 100 parishes north of the Flensborg-Tonder line only one small parish returned a German candidate. South of the line, one large parish gave a substantial Danish majority. In the election of 1912, 89 parishes showed decided Danish majorities notwithstanding that many North Schleswigers had emigrated and German influence had been exerted in the election; in 17 of the parishes the vote was evenly balanced. Wherever German candidates were chosen it was apparent that the choice was due to political pressure upon the holders of official positions and Government dependents in general.

There is in Schleswig a railway junction, Vojens, with lines diverging south, east, west, and southeast. All the railway functionaries are German, yet the following votes recorded in 1903, 1907, and 1912, testify to the hold of the Danes upon the community:

	1903	1907	1912
Danish	106	119	159
German	197	109	103

The above is a region in which for fifty years Germanophiles have been assiduously at work. At another railway junction on the west coast, Skaerbaek, notoriously under the influence of one of the bitterest pro-German agitators, Pastor Jacobsen, the votes have shown the following divisions:

	1898	1903	1912
Danish	87	123	153
German	97	101	78

It should be remembered that in Schleswig-Holstein, since the German occupation, railways have been built primarily for military purposes, and that in consequence military influence over all civil activity predominates. When in 1912, in spite of all the effort at Germanization, the Reichstag election returns in Schleswig showed a Danish vote of 16,559, against 11,616 in the election of 1886, it was clear that Danish Schleswig is a reality.

Because of the relatively small population concerned, the Schleswig problem occupies a unique position in the annals of oppressed nationalities. For the reader who wishes to know in detail the underlying causes of the wars of 1848 and 1864, abundant sources of information are available; the historical part of the case, at least, is clear. It remains

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now to show that the North Schleswigers have not in vain stood solidly for liberty and the determination of their own allegiance. Whether the Danish boundary shall be at the Kiel Canal or at some point further north—at Dannevirke, or even the line Flensborg-Tonder—the settlement of the question by the peace congress is only a demand of historical justice. It may be that Dr. Solf, the German Foreign Secretary, is entirely sincere in proposing a plébiscite to determine to which Power, Germany or Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein shall belong; but happily, that question is not now before Germany only, but before the world. For more than half a century the moral title of Germany to Schleswig-Holstein has been in controversy. From the point of view of the old diplomacy, of the old method of disposing of small states or small nationalities in any way that to the Great powers seemed good, the claim of Germany was valid in law. Moral validity, on the other hand, it never had, and now that the old diplomacy is apparently passing, and new methods based upon ethical principles of justice, good faith, and recognition of legitimate national ambitions are apparently to take its place, it is time to right the historical wrong.

Jingoism and Pacifism in the New Parliament*

By GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

WE can get rid of most of the dozen different senses in which the word pacifism is used by concluding that the extremes of Tolstoian pacifism will not be represented in the new Parliament. One wishes one could say as much for the other extreme; but the by-elections tend to show that the Hidden Handers and, in general, those zealots who believe that the war can be and should be won by themselves in England by dint of persecuting people with German names and mobbing natives who show signs of retaining their common sense under the strain of war, will not be popular or successful candidates, even when they are enthusiastically supported by the newspapers which have the best reasons for dreading an epidemic of that complaint. Certainly the majority in the House will consist of men who have won the votes both of the electors who are very tired of the war, and of those who will not support any candidate who exposes himself to the suspicion of being prepared to capitulate. It would be too much to expect that the worn-out war catchwords will not still save most of the speakers at the election meetings the disgrace of having to confess that they have nothing to say. Everybody will still declare that we must have a just and lasting peace, regardless of the obvious fact that no division of the spoils in the game of war can possibly be a just one, and that no peace can be a lasting one until war is abolished as an institution by the substitution of international law for sovereign rights, which, whilst they last, must include the sovereign right, glory, and privilege of challenging every other sovereign at any moment to stake all his realm on the result of a fight. We shall still begin our speeches by crying, "Come the four quarters of the world in arms and we shall shock them," and end by insisting that this must be the very last war, because no future generation of Britons can ever be expected to stand up to the Germans or to any one else.

But these imbecilities will not decide the fate of the election because they will be in the mouths of all the orators. The rival candidates will not be able to score off one another by echoing each other's nonsense. They will be forced to explain their differences (if they differ on any other subject than their success at the polls, which in many cases they will not) in reasonable terms. Peace by agreement, which is the only alternative to peace by conquest and annexation, will no longer be allowed to mean British capitulation; the ridiculous false alternative of negotiation versus victory will be replaced by the true alternative of agreement versus conquest and permanent occupation (that is, the political if not actual vital extermination of the defeated belligerent); and it will become clear that our military aim is a convincing demonstration that Western democracy is invincible by the militarist oligarchies which still rally round the divine right of dynasties. There will also be a great challenging of the records of candidates: for example, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who has been fighting the Kaiser all his life, and once denounced the whole Fabian Society as traitors when the executive committee spoiled the Egyptians by letting the Fabian office window at a high price because it commanded a view of a royal procession in which the Kaiser was a prominent and much applauded figure, will probably not stand being called a pro-German by some political upstart who, as likely as not, paid five guineas for a seat at that window. Questions of liberty and political courage will be a good deal discussed. The people who, the moment they come under fire, instantly and frantically throw all our hard-won safeguards of liberty and democracy overboard like men in a falling balloon, and when remonstrated with can only shriek, "Do you know that we are at war?" which means, simply, "Do you know we are all going to be murdered?" will be very freely recommended to conceal their terror as the rest of us have to do. In short, most of the newspaper and platform rhetoric of the war will be nailed to the counter on both sides; and the new members will be men who have been forced more or less to mean something by what they say and to find out what that meaning is. This will differentiate them extremely from the present House.

But there will still be a great clearing away of cant to be done in the House itself. The main difference will develop between those who believe that a military decision can be obtained, and those who see nothing ahead of us but an interminable vista of slaughter and counter-slaughter as offensive succeeds offensive over ground that is taken and retaken and taken again. These will be two extremes, most of the members being somewhere between them. There will not be a party of Capitulators or Defeatists; but there will be a party in favor of inviting all the belligerents to put their cards on the table; admit that they are all suffering frightful damage; and consider whether there is any reasonable prospect of victory, however feasible, being worth its cost. The fortunes of this party will fluctuate with the fortunes of war; and it will be abusively called the Pacifist party and will abusively call its opponents the Jingo party. And neither party will have the last word, as none of the Allies on this side of the Atlantic will be able to exercise "self-determination" in a settlement in which the American army may prove the decisive factor.

*Syllabus of a lecture in a course on "The Issues of the Coming Election," announced by the Fabian Society, London, for November 29.

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Documents

Russia and the Czecho-Slovaks

A STOCKHOLM dispatch of November 3 announced, on the authority of the *Wiener Journal*, that M. Tschitcherin, People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, had telegraphed to the Provisional Czecho-Slovak Government at Prague offering to allow the Czecho-Slovaks in Russia to return home if they would lay down their arms, and to guarantee their safety. On this point the following statement, sent out by Russian wireless on November 1, is informing. The statement is a good example of Russian official documents frequently communicated to the press by the British Government and printed in leading newspapers.

The Russian Workmen's and Peasants' Councils' Government, which represents large masses of the working population of Russia, and which in all its actions has always expressed its will to defend the interests of the laboring classes, this Russian Government declares solemnly to the Provisional Government of the Czecho-Slovaks that never has it even entered into their minds to deliver the Czecho-Slovaks, who have found a refuge in Russia, over to Austro-Hungarians. This is a baseless affirmation on the part of the counter-revolutionary calumniators. At the beginning of this year the Councils' Government agreed with the French and English Governments as to permission for the Czecho-Slovaks in Russia to go to France; but months and months passed, and France, in spite of her promise, did not furnish the ships for transporting these Czecho-Slovaks. In the meantime, agents of the French and English capitalistic Governments led the Czecho-Slovaks into error, and subjected them to counter-revolutionary influences. They put at their head Russian reactionaries, agents of the infamous old Tsarist régime. All measures which the Councils' Government was forced to take against the Czecho-Slovaks were merely measures of legitimate defence against the counter-revolutionary movement, which aimed at the deposition of the people's authority in Russia. The many victories won by the Red Army of revolutionary workmen and peasants of Russia over the Czecho-Slovak detachments and White Guards prove that the Czecho-Slovak detachments are powerless to depose the revolutionary Government of Russian workmen and peasants. The Councils' Government, in spite of the success of its forces, has no other wish than to terminate this useless shedding of blood, and declares to the Provisional Government of the Czecho-Slovaks that it is ready to allow the Czecho-Slovaks to cross Russia as soon as they have laid down their arms, and to give them a complete guarantee as regards security for their return home. The Councils' Government wishes to enter into direct negotiation with the Provisional Government of the Czecho-Slovaks, with a view to elaborating the conditions for the return home of those Czecho-Slovaks who are willing to go back to the territories which are now under the authority of the Czecho-Slovak Provisional Government of Prague. The Councils' Government will thank the Czecho-Slovak Government for a reply.

(Signed). TSCHITCHERIN,
People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

Moscow, October 31, 1918

Appeal of the Finnish Workers

THE following proclamation, copies of which have only lately reached this country, was issued at Stockholm early in August by the Central Committee of the Foreign Department of the Finnish Workers' Government.

Again we appeal to the workers in all countries. Comrades! Frightful is the fate of the Socialist workers in Finland. Four months have elapsed since the defeat of the revolution, but still the White Terror is raging in the country. It is obvious that the Finnish bourgeoisie intends to destroy all the organized Socialist workers, all the seventy or eighty thousand revolutionaries, who are now starving in detention camps in various parts of the country.

From day to day the endless destruction of the organized workers continues. Hundreds die every day of hunger and disease. From day to day their executions go on, based upon decisions of special field courts-martial and instigated by the spirit of revenge and class hatred on the part of individuals. In every detention camp the number of such murdered workers grows into hundreds upon hundreds. It is estimated that the White Terror in Finland has already killed almost as many people as lost their lives in the civil war—about 20,000 men, women, and children; and this mad orgy of murder is not yet ended.

More than 100 field courts-martial pronounce their sentences over the rebels—death sentences, life imprisonment, long prison terms, confiscation of private property of individuals. They are not treated as prisoners of war, but as ordinary criminals who are accused of murder, pillage, etc.; the verdict covering all their acts from the time of the Socialist Government, and action taken in open warfare during the civil war. Arbitrary decisions of the courts and class hatred dictate the sentences.

The White Guards themselves say that the life of a Socialist is not worth that of a dog, and without any penalty any one may kill a Socialist at any time.

Comrades, Workers, of all countries! Listen to the martyr outcry of organized labor in Finland! Let your voice be heard! The White Terror, which the Finnish bourgeoisie does not want to stop, intends to destroy the proletariat of Finland to the last man and woman. We appeal to that international solidarity which has been proclaimed so long. Urge your Governments to take up the bloody question of Finland!

Comrades in Russia, who yourselves have experienced the cruelties which follow in the path of the White Guards! Remember the fate of the revolutionary workers in Finland, and be ready to fight to the last drop of blood against the attacking enemies of the revolution; and arouse the workers in other countries in our defence!

Comrades in Scandinavia and in the Allied countries! Arouse a storm of protest against the executioners of the people of Finland! Spread the news about our fate to the people of the world!

Comrades in Germany and Austria! If our words reach you at all, we want to say to you, rise and put down your Government! It was the German army which defeated the workers' rule in Finland and which is now facilitating the reign of the White Terror. Do not say to us, "Am I my brother's keeper?" It is better to die than to be an international scab and an executioner of the workers.

The crucified labor of Finland appeals to its class comrades in all countries. You must prove in practice that international class solidarity does exist. Comrades and workers in all countries, listen to the martyr outcry from Finland!

The General Election in England

THE following summary of a circular letter to acting returning officers, issued by Sir Horace Monro, Permanent Secretary to the Local Government Board, relating to "procedure in conducting the first general election under the Reform Act," is taken from the London *Times* of November 4. It will be recalled that women to whom the suffrage has recently been extended will vote for the first time at the coming election. Elaborate provisions have also been made for the voting of members of the army and navy.

DAY OF NOMINATION AND POLL.—All polls will be held on one day, and nomination day will be the same in all constituencies. Nomination day will be the eighth day after the date of the Royal Proclamation, and polling day will be the ninth day after nomination day.

DEPOSITS BY CANDIDATES.—A candidate must deposit £150 with the returning officer on nomination. The deposit will be returned to a candidate if he is elected as soon as he has taken the oath as a member, and if he is not elected as soon as practicable after the election. If a candidate does not poll one-eighth of the total number of votes polled, the deposit will be forfeited to the Crown.

NUMBER OF VOTES ALLOWED AT GENERAL ELECTION.—A man may vote for a residence qualification in one constituency and give one more vote in another constituency where he is registered for a business premises qualification or as a university elector. A woman can vote in only one constituency where she is registered by virtue of her own or her husband's local government qualification, but she can vote also for one university constituency for which she may be registered.

QUESTIONS TO ELECTORS.—Certain questions may be asked of voters at a poll with a view to ascertaining whether a person has already voted for the number of constituencies for which he is entitled to vote.

VOTING BY PERSONS EMPLOYED BY CANDIDATES AND RETURNING OFFICERS.—Such persons may vote so long as the employment is legal.

ISSUE OF BALLOT PAPERS.—These will be in the same form as and indistinguishable from the ballot papers handed to the electors on the day of the poll. There should be no difficulty in the ballot papers being delivered in time for dispatch on the day following the nomination. The election agent of each candidate or a person appointed by the agent may be present at the issue of the ballot papers and at the opening of the envelopes returned. The returning officer is to secure the safe custody of the absent voters' ballot-boxes, so as to ensure that access to them can only be obtained for the purpose of depositing therein the envelopes as received from time to time from the absent voters. In the case of

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voters serving in certain corps in France or Belgium, a special form of cover has been provided in which to place the envelopes addressed to those voters.

RECEIPT OF BALLOT PAPERS.—The opening of the boxes and dealing with the envelopes received from absent voters should be completed before the time at which the counting of the votes begins. Looking to the very large number of absent voters, it will probably be essential for the opening in the case of most constituencies to begin not later than the morning of the day preceding that fixed for the counting of the votes. Only those envelopes which are received by the returning officer before the time fixed for counting the votes can be reckoned in the count.

PROXY VOTING.—A proxy vote will be given at the polling station at which the elector on whose behalf the vote is given would be entitled to vote in the ordinary way and an ordinary ballot paper such as would have been supplied to the elector himself will be issued to the proxy. The same procedure for the issue of a ballot paper will be followed as if the elector himself were voting.

Two changes of procedure are announced by Sir Horace Monro in his circular. It has been represented that a large number of electors registered otherwise than as naval or military voters may, by reason of their having joined the forces, be precluded from voting at the next General Election unless they are enabled to vote as absent voters. It is therefore proposed to provide by Order in Council that any elector who has joined the Forces since the register was prepared shall be placed on the absent voters list if application is made by him to the registration officer before the receipt of the writ summoning the new Parliament. Where the registration officer is aware that an elector who has joined the Forces is not on the absent voters list, he should, wherever practicable, give notice to the elector that an application to be placed on the absent voters list will be entertained and forward to him a form of application. The names of the electors thus placed on the absent voters list should be inserted in manuscript as a supplement to the copy of the absent voters list used as the record of addresses.

In a number of cases men in the Forces will be on leave or otherwise detached from their ships or units at the time of the General Election, and there will therefore be considerable risk of the ballot papers, if sent to the ships or units, not reaching the voters in time for their return before the counting of the votes. A form has therefore been prepared for the purpose of enabling the address to which such a voter wishes his ballot paper sent to be notified by him to the registration officer.

Mr. Creel and the Press Censorship

THE following statement by Mr. George Creel, chairman of the Committee on Public Information, is printed in the *Official U. S. Bulletin* of November 21, Although one of the most important statements regarding the censorship issued by the Government during the war, it seems largely to have escaped comment in the American press.

With respect to my charged connection with the cables and cable censorship, there is no such connection, nor will there be any.

On November 14 announcement was made by the Committee on Public Information of the discontinuance of the volunteer censorship agreement under which the press of the United States has operated with the Government.

On November 15 a formal statement was issued to the effect that all press censorship in connection with cables and mails would be discontinued forthwith.

There is, therefore, no press censorship of any kind existing in the United States to-day. No plan of resumption has been suggested or even contemplated.

The whole domestic machinery of the Committee on Public Information is being dismantled and will cease operation by December 15 at the very latest. As for my work in Europe, and that of the Committee on Public Information, it will have absolutely no connection whatsoever with the control of the cables, any form of censorship, or any supervision over the press.

The charge that I will have control of all publicity in connection with the peace commission has no base in fact. The policy decided upon is that there shall be no selection or discrimination in the matter of the representation of the press either in the matter of passports or in foreign arrangements. Any responsible newspaper man is entitled to go and equally entitled to fair and impartial treatment abroad.

These men, on the ground and with every right and chance to observe, estimate, and interview, will write as they please and with their usual independence. As for press arrangements, conveniences, and privileges, these matters will necessarily be governed in large degree by the desires of the authorities of the country in which the peace conference is held.

The one proper effort of the Committee on Public Information will be to open every means of communication to the press of America without dictation, without supervision, and with no other desire than to facilitate in every manner the fullest and freest flow of news.

Japan's Foreign Policy

THE following interview with Viscount Uchida, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, given to a Reuter representative on October 7, is taken from the *Celestial Empire*, the weekly edition of the Shanghai *Mercury*, of October 14.

A reiteration of the statements made by my predecessors is hardly necessary, beyond an assurance that the guiding principles of the foreign policy of Japan are fixed. The changing of the administration does not involve the changing of policies or principles in dealing with our friends and enemies. We must keep before us the increasingly grave importance of a proper understanding of the world situation with which we are faced as a responsible nation, accepting our responsibilities in the fullest sense.

We have been impressed by the more recent utterances of the President of the United States addressing the people of that country, which have risen to the occasion in this struggle with a national and individual singleness of high purpose and international generosity which appeals with peculiar force to our people. The declaration made by President Wilson that with perfect unity of purpose and counsel will come assurance of complete victory seems to me the first principle in the solution of the difficult problem before us. There can be no league of nations unless there is among its members as complete unity of confidence and trust in one another as of purpose and counsel. The *noblesse oblige* of the west or the *bushido* of the east must permeate and guide the action of any such league and distrust and suspicion must be left outside the door.

Japan has always endeavored to make plain by words, as well as by deeds, that she is ready to undertake a fair proportion of the work looking to the attainment of common aims, and that she is as loyal to the great alliance created by this war as to the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which Japan invariably regards as the cornerstone of her foreign policy.

We are all joined now more closely than ever by the common duty to obey the common mandate to prevent the spoilation of a nation betrayed in an hour of great weakness. Our giant neighbor Russia is not disloyal nor regarded as disloyal simply because an attempt has been made to rob Russia of the name she carried proudly in the past. The same honest people in Russia must come into possession of their heritage and be helped to secure it by the nations who have joined to help Russia with unity of purpose, counsel, and loyalty which should not seek any advantage not shared by an ally.

The situation in China is greatly improved and we are looking forward with confidence to the announcement of a solution of the differences which have kept apart the peoples of the various provinces. A united Government and good order in China are more important to Japan than to any nation except China herself.

We are proud of the close and lasting friendship of all the nations with whom we are associated in this war. The struggle has been supported with undaunted courage and self-sacrifice by their armies and peoples. In particular, the inspiring tenacity shown by Belgium, France, and Italy in the dark hours of the Germanic invasion find an admiring tribute among Japanese of all classes. The story of endurance and achievement during the last four years is now drawing to a glorious close. We are no more and no less confident now than we have always been concerning the outcome of the war.

I am glad to find our friendships have been solidified and the purposes of Japan are better understood to-day in the east and west.

A SUMMARY of the provisions of the two treaties supplementary to the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, ratified on September 6 at Berlin between the German and Russian Governments, is given in the *New Europe* (London) of October 3.

Contributors to This Issue

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Foreign Press

"The Common Will of Mankind"

WRITING in the November issue of one of the English monthlies, Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, chairman of the Women's International League, criticizes President Wilson's statement, in his speech of September 27, that the purposes of the war have been determined by "the common will of mankind." How, she asks, does Mr. Wilson know what is the common will of mankind? Who knows what is the common will of Russia? Have we ever tried to find out? "It almost looks," she says, "as if sometimes President Wilson himself were in danger of taking the official national propaganda conducted by men like Lord Beaverbrook and his orchestra of capitalists in various world-centres as the authentic voice of the people which, for this purpose, is the voice of God." Mrs. Swanwick further suggests that this notion of a "common will of mankind" is a simplification based upon no actuality.

So long as we confine ourselves to abstractions, we may perhaps say that the common will regards itself as directed towards "impartial justice in every form of the settlement." No one is openly and consciously in favor of injustice. But these abstractions are a very poor light for passion-led people, and the notion of retributive punishment is, in many minds, inseparable from the notion of justice. Is this "the common will of mankind"? And does it lead to enduring peace?

British Overseas Trade

THE *Yorkshire Post* (Leeds) of October 30 gives the following summary of an address by Sir Arthur Steel Maitland, formerly Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and now head of the Overseas Trade Department of the Board of Trade, on "Overseas Trade After the War," before the Newcastle Commercial Exchange.

He said there seemed to be an idea abroad that we wanted to re-establish our overseas trade—hard hit by the war—at the expense of our Allies. That was not so; we would rather do it by coöperation; but it was there the difficulties arose. He would not dilate on the necessity of our re-establishing our foreign trade, which for us was a necessity, because, except for coal and tin, we were dependent upon other countries for raw material, and also for the great bulk of our foodstuffs. . . . There were three kinds of business we did abroad. The sale of goods abroad which we made; the *starting of big* enterprises abroad under British leadership and management—just as important as the direct trade—which promoted both direct and indirect trade; and then there was the converse, the securing of our supplies of raw material, which was quite vital to us. How could the Government help to regain our lost trade, which was essential if we were to meet our war bill? Properly trained consuls ought to have a lot of collected knowledge which should be at the disposal of trading representatives; then in these large enterprises the help of British Government representatives in negotiations with foreign municipalities and States should be of the greatest service. Our overseas communities in the past had by their own competition often let in the foreigner. They must learn to pull together, and the Government representative who was up to the mark could help in that, for he would have no commercial interest to serve. In matters of that kind, the Germans had been far ahead of us.

Those were things which could be done abroad. There were also things which could be done at home. Unnecessary rivalry could be eliminated at home by the intervention of a third and disinterested party; then there were things which were no one's business, and as an instance he would cite a much-needed foreign credit information agency. The last was not a matter the Government could take up directly, but he had been able to suggest it, and some leading commerical organizations were taking it up, and he hoped to see it come to fruition. Then the Government might be a useful source of intelligence with regard to foreign countries, and his Department was not only sending out information, but was willing to reply to questions. A Government Department ought also to be able to bring within its view all aspects of a business, and so help persons engaged in particular branches of it. Much of what was being done by Germany was unknown by this country before the war, but a Government Department could get much information unavailable to any one business. His Department did not wish to dictate to any business how it was to be conducted, but it could give businesses information as to the forms of competition they had to meet. He believed it would advantage us after the war to execute our foreign contracts as quickly as possible, so as to regain our position, all subject, of course, to our overriding obligation for the rehabilitation of Belgium. At present his Department had sections dealing with the different foreign countries, reorganizing the whole of the Consular Service, and had selected the new commercial councillors for the Embassies. He trusted part of the consular training would not only be a first-class knowledge of foreign languages, but also a first-class practical commercial training.

The End of a Party

ALFRED CAPUS, of the French Academy, writing in the *Figaro* (Paris) on the recent congress of the French Unified Socialists, concludes that the party has at last ended its usefulness. Most of the Paris newspapers which are not Socialist organs have been critical of the Congress.

We were speaking the other day of the crisis in the Unified Socialist party. The Congress now sitting has, by its daily scandals, again hastened the crisis. It is no longer a crisis in the party, it is the end. The minority believe that they are to become masters. They will prove to be only grave-diggers.

The motion voted yesterday . . . does not deserve serious analysis. How is it possible to discuss the ideas of people who, in the midst of war, refer to their country and its Allies as "one of the two belligerent combinations"?

Let us be understood. It is only in its parliamentary and political form that we believe that the Socialist party has received its mortal wound. We do not mean to speak of the social and labor movement which, on the contrary, will receive a new acceleration through the questions raised to-day by war and to-morrow by peace. But we may believe that these questions will also be given a different direction which as a whole will escape the politicians, and which will be entrusted to more direct and better-informed representatives of the working class. The incoherence of the Congress and the discredit of its leaders justify these predictions. On the other hand, the rude recasting of modern society extolled by Marxian doctrine appears more and more absurd. The old social framework has once more been tested in the most dreadful tempest of history. Almost everywhere it has held fast. Its solidity made possible resistance, then victory. It is evident that a society regulated by Socialist discipline and method would have succumbed under the first blows of the barbarians, and would promptly have resigned itself to servitude.

That is the great reproach, the historical and national reproach, of the French Socialists. If the patriotism of some of them has been beyond question, they have often lacked deep, patriotic faith. They have compromised with it in order to preserve an artificial unity and a political position. In so doing they have left the broad furrow of French democracy and the Convention. They have sometimes given the impression that they did not care to plunge the German Empire into irreparable disaster, and that they were trying to pare down our victory to the measure of the International. Finally, they have allowed "peace without victory" to be spoken and have not broken with the miserable fools who shouted this blasphemy.

For all these reasons they see themselves at the hour of victory justly excluded from the Government and deprived of all influence upon the conditions of peace. It is in vain that they invoke President Wilson and try to cling to him. Everything that is precise and powerful in the Wilsonian thought is beyond their reach; on the contrary, they throw themselves upon whatever is still a little vague and indecisive in it, and wrest its sense. They are looking for a refuge in a house whose roof will come crumbling down upon their heads.

Open Diplomacy in France

THE *Echo de Paris*, referring to the statement of Georges Leygues, Minister of Marine, to the Chamber of Deputies regarding the armistice with Turkey, says:

It is part of the Ministry's formal programme to lay its diplomatic actions before Parliament. This measure has been taken in agreement with the Governments of the Entente, and the publication of these actions is the best method of showing that there is no intention of carrying on secret diplomacy. "Everything open and above board." Such is the principle, and the best way of applying the principle is to keep the country informed of what is taking place through those who represent it. The Allied Parliaments will not only be informed, but will be informed publicly of everything except, naturally, the secrets common to all the Allies. The present Government openly declares that it desires to re-establish France in her complete integrity, and has nothing to conceal in this intention.

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Why Germany Offered Peace

A BERLIN correspondent of the *Münchner Post*, writing under date of October 10, discusses the question of who was responsible for Germany's "new and very wide-reaching offer of peace."

. . . After Austria's note was rejected it was assumed that peace efforts would be slowed down, though the "high aim" of peace could not in any degree be dropped, and especially not then, when negotiations in regard to Socialists entering the Government were in progress. . . . The Social Democrats at the time of the Hertling crisis did not expect the new Government directly to bring in peace, but merely to make ready for it. . . . The idea was that Germany would, under the eyes of the world, complete its transformation into the most modern of democracies and make known its sincere readiness for a democratic peace of reconciliation. . . . The sight of this change in Germany's politics was expected to produce a modification of enemy opinion, but at the best this would require weeks or months. In the meantime national defence would have to be maintained, partly in order that the other side might see that a smashing victory was not attainable, and partly because it was not necessary to administer a crushing defeat to an inwardly renewed Germany. That is, the Socialists wanted to bring the war to an end, but gradually. The change in the situation since is not at all due to the Social Democrats. . . . Far from coming about under pressure of Socialist threats, it came from the opposite direction.

This step was therefore due not to the fundamental love of peace of the Social Democracy, but to the somewhat sudden realization of the situation in quite other quarters. The new Imperial Chancellor said in his Reichstag speech that this step had been taken in accord with all influential factors. This has always been said on the occasion of previous moves, but then it has not been true. Now it is true and, if we may so express ourselves, truer than merely true. Relations have shifted. The initiative in the new diplomatic undertaking came neither from the Social Democracy nor from the Majority parties, nor from the new Imperial Chancellor. The new Government did nothing but draw conclusions from a given situation; what is more, it did not by any means draw these conclusions of itself; they were presented to it from the outside.

German Control of Danish Shipping

A Copenhagen correspondent of the *Norges Handels og Sjöfartstidende*, the leading commercial paper of Stockholm, gives the following information regarding the control of Danish shipping and shipbuilding by Germany.

As matters are now developed, Danish ship-building interests are dependent chiefly upon Germany for their supply of iron. It is true that considerable quantities have been brought from Sweden, but in the matter of iron for frames and plates required for new construction, the shipyards must look exclusively to Germany. This situation is, of course, being exploited by Germany with all the energy and foresight which it usually displays in arranging the future. As we know, the Government placed the rationing of the iron importations from Sweden and Germany in the hands of the Merchants' Guild, which in turn has handed it over to the Danish Iron Central, and from its decree there is no appeal. In order to receive any German iron, the Iron Central is forced to make every purchaser sign the following declaration:

I (purchaser's name) consent to the following conditions:

1. The newly-constructed ship number — shall not be put into service until after the state of war in Germany has ceased to exist by Imperial proclamation, except in the event that a special agreement has been made for running it south of the line Kullen-Hasenöre. The trial trip shall be made within Danish territorial waters, including the coast of the island of Hven. Announcement shall be made in advance to the Imperial German legation. The ship shall, immediately after completion of the trial trip, be returned to the port where it was built and be laid up there.

2. Any change in the number of the construction or the name of the vessel shall be made only with the consent of the Imperial German legation and the office of ship-building materials (at Essen).

3. The German Government shall have the right to sell or charter the ship for four years after the cessation of a state of war, the conditions to be more particularly specified.

4. In case I should fail to keep these conditions, I will pay a fine of 800 Danish kroner per ton.

5. In case of a sale before the cessation of the war, I will obtain the consent of the German Government with regard to the new owner.

6. In case of disagreement, I will submit to the verdict of an ordinary court in Germany.

7. The ship shall be sold only when the new owner has signed a similar declaration and has thus bound himself to the above guarantees.

The German legation and the Danish Iron Central each keep a signed copy of this declaration.

Every Danish iron ship, whether entirely new or to a considerable degree repaired, is thus made subject to a very comprehensive control by Germany, is barred from being put into service until four years after the war, and is liable to be bought or chartered by Germany on certain conditions that have not been made known to the public. At the same time the Danish importers of iron have bound themselves in case of a disagreement to submit to the decision of German courts.

These conditions, restricting the free development of the shipbuilding industry as they do, are fitted to arouse the gravest apprehension.

Finland and the Entente

THE *Daily Review of the Foreign Press*, issued by the British War Office, prints under date of November 1 a translation of a leading article in the *Hufvudstadsbladet* of October 3, entitled "Ourselves and the Entente," from which the following extracts are taken.

When Finland made public her decision to leave the political union with Russia, she also declared that during the present world war she would observe neutrality. We venture to think that it cannot with reason be contended that any action of our Governmental authorities shows a disregard of this promise. It is, of course, not unknown to us that opinion in the Entente countries has emphatically disapproved of the close relations with Germany into which our country has entered. Those citizens of the Entente states who have watched events here at closer quarters regard this matter, however, in quite a different light. They recognize that the friendship with Germany is a logical consequence of the development of things. Finland has solely Germany to thank for her tardily-won political independence. As Russia's allies, neither France nor England was able or willing to do anything for our liberation from the Russian yoke, which yet during the world war became more and more heavy and unbearable. It was only through the complete disintegration of Russia during her fight with Germany that the possibility was offered to Finland of realizing her long-entertained dream of political independence. And when the Russian Bolsheviks, in alliance with our rebels, sought to draw Finland into the Russian anarchy and drown our freedom, our civilization, and our legal order in the sanguinary waves of the Red revolution, it was Germany who gave our society-preserving elements the assistance which was required in order to safeguard our newly-won independence and our internal order. . . .

We cannot conceal from ourselves that various pronouncements and actions by the Entente unfortunately have shown that the group of Powers in question does not pay attention to the above-mentioned circumstances, and views unfavorably the endeavor of our nation to safeguard the victories of the war of liberation—internal order and external independence. We refer, for example, to the warning which, through the French Legation, was issued to us at the beginning of June, when the monarchical opinion in the Diet was beginning to define itself, and which was repeated without any reasonable ground lately when the Diet assembled for the purpose of electing the king. This warning intimated, as is well known, that the Government of the French Republic would not recognize any form of government in Finland which had been introduced in an illegal fashion. An intimation of this character has, of course, since the *coup d'état* of the rebels proved a failure, lacked every *raison d'être*, as nobody here, after the establishment of legal order, has thought of solving the constitutional question in any but an absolutely legal manner. Opinions have differed in our country as to whether the monarchical or the republican form of government would be the most suitable, and, after the monarchical idea carried the day, as to whether a new constitution was to be adopted forthwith or a king elected on the strength of the still operative constitution of 1772; but there has never been any question of settling the matter in an illegal manner. . . . Such being the case, an outsider can hardly be regarded as having cause for uttering any warning in this matter.

With reference to the previously noted English pronouncement on our monarchical question, it must be emphasized that England naturally is completely at liberty to decide with which state she desires to enter into diplomatic relations; but that, once it is admitted that the question of the constitution is an internal Finnish matter, and Finland commits no breach of the obligations of neutrality, it seems strange that the recognition of her political independence is refused solely because the person whom the Diet elects as monarch does not correspond with the wishes of England.

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Another matter which necessarily has caused surprise here is that the troops formed by "Red" Finnish fugitives, which operate on the frontier of Eastern Karelia and have attacked Finnish non-Governmental troops, according to information officially issued here, have been enlisted by England and are led by English officers. One cannot see that our country through any act of hers has given occasion for such measures on the part of England as a gathering and arming of indubitable enemies of our country close to its frontiers, and their employment in operations directed against us and clearly aggressive.

In any case, the attitude of our country in these difficult times is absolutely clear; she will without fail observe her neutrality in external affairs, but must reserve for herself the right to settle her internal affairs unhampered in the manner which the welfare of the country seems to demand.

The Industrial Renaissance of Greece

UNDER the above title Thomas H. Mawson, a member of the Commission for the Replanning of Salonica, writes in the *Near East* (London) of October 11 regarding the industrial outlook at Salonica and elsewhere. The city of Salonica was practically destroyed by fire on August 21 and 25, 1917.

Factories and Industrial Enterprises

There are already in Salonica several factories and innumerable workshops devoted to local industries. One cotton factory employs 600 hands, and there are also flour mills, soap works, brick works, cement works, tanneries, silk works, and carpet works, as well as a brewery, which under new conditions, and with the elimination of competition from Munich, are expected greatly to increase their capacity.

Already there is evidence of a great impetus to local industries, there being several inquiries for sites from British manufacturers, who desire to erect works in a locality which they regard as peculiarly good from a strategic point of view. There are also proposals for the erection of modern abattoirs and cold storage, and for the erection of great works for the construction of reinforced drain pipes, patent flags, curbs, channel, and other cement works for constructive purposes.

State, Municipal, and Semi-Public Buildings

Among the most important buildings required in the near future will be the following: new city hall and law courts, police and fire stations, post office, new banks, commercial exchanges, university, schools and gymnasia, theatre and opera house, markets, and the finest and largest bazaars in the East.

Commercial Buildings

Several large new hotels are projected, and many cafés, streets of shops and offices, and also cinemas and other places of entertainment.

New Housing Facilities

Houses are immediately required for the 70,000 people whose homes were destroyed by the fire, and for at least 30,000 more who will flock to the city from other parts of Greece to take advantage of the new prosperity which will come to the city after the war. In addition to the housing of the artisan classes, an immense impetus will be given to the erection of houses for the large number of residents who have grown rich through the operations of the war. Thus the Kalemaria and Mikra areas will rapidly become high-class residential suburbs.

Parks, Gardens, Boulevards, and Forests

No city in the East will be so well supplied with publicly owned open spaces which are to be converted into city forests, public parks, and playgrounds, the whole being connected by tree-planted boulevards. Much of this work will necessarily follow the housing of the people; but from the first there will be great business for nurserymen and landscape gardening contractors.

The foregoing remarks refer only to the opportunities opened up by the rebuilding of Salonica, but of equal importance in the near future will be the expansion of Athens and the virtual rebuilding or improvement of almost every city and village throughout Greece; it is in these activities that the Eastern mind will first express itself. Let us add, they can afford to do it, for Greece has been greatly enriched by this war, for she has been able to sell not only every article of produce at war prices, but has been able to employ her labor in the service of the Allies at rates never before obtained; and in addition to this the Allies have spent millions of pounds sterling with the population of Salonica and throughout Macedonia; and all this is stimulating the desire of the Hellenes to realize something really worthy of a great and prosperous people. But greater than this fact is the probability of the natural resources of Greece being developed, and when this takes place Greece will be a great hive of industry. . . .

Germany and Poland

THE London *Times* of October 21 quotes the following paragraphs from a leading article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Numerous articles of similar tenor, expressing anxiety over the future relations between Germany and Poland, appeared in German newspapers shortly before the armistice.

The main peril of the coming peace negotiations does not lie in Alsace-Lorraine; we feel ourselves much too closely united with the German people of this German land to be able to doubt how, when faced by the choice, it would choose between us and France. And most certainly the main peril does not lie in the compensation for injury which we shall have to pay to Belgium; what we have taken from Belgium, or what has been destroyed there, may pass as a part of our war costs, which we shall raise in the same way that we have hitherto raised our immediate war costs. But in the East, in the Polish problem, lies the tremendous peril which really goes to the heart of our existence as a nation and a state. The Polish appeal permits itself to interpret the thirteenth point of the Wilson theses in the sense that all territories which were formerly Polish are to be united in a uniform Polish state, with its own seacoast. This interpretation is false, for the Wilson programme by no means says this, and it would be intolerable for Germany, because, thinking only of the Poles and not at all of the Germans, it would naturally exclude the right of self-determination of the German nation and would cripple hopelessly our people and its future. . . .

From the formulation of the appeal one must at least infer that the Poles desire to lay their hands upon the Prussian provinces of Posen, West Prussia, and at any rate a part of Silesia—and then East Prussia also, deprived of territorial connection with the Empire, could no longer be kept in Germany. . . .

Germany cannot permit millions of its people to be torn from its body. And it cannot abandon the future of its people by allowing, through the separation of its most important agrarian territories, the soil to be taken away in which its peasants are rooted, and from which new health and freshness must pour if its people is not to wither in the cities and the over-populated industrial centres.

The Turkish Armistice

THE *Manchester Guardian* (November 2) finds the Turkish armistice highly objectionable so far as the case of the Armenians is concerned. Explanations of later date in the House of Commons appear to have lessened in some degree the force of some of the criticisms here expressed, but the English press still shows dissatisfaction with the protection which the armistice terms apparently accord to Armenia.

The armistice with Turkey has been concluded on terms discreditable to us and perilous for a tortured population whose protection ought to have been our first care. Turkey was as completely at our mercy as Bulgaria, and there was infinitely more reason for putting her under complete control. Instead, she has been permitted to remain in full military and political authority over the six Armenian provinces whose population she has outraged and murdered on a scale and with a barbarity unexampled in history. It is true that one clause of the agreement provides that "in case of disorder" in the Armenian vilayets "the Allies reserve to themselves the right to occupy any part of them." That is surely a rather grim jest. Thus we recognize the Turk as the guardian of "order" over the people he has done his best to exterminate. But for the Armenian people, the remnant of them, this is no matter for jest. How are the refugees from the mountains to dare to return to their devastated homes before the approach of winter? How are those who have fled beyond the border to escape their tormentors to place themselves once more within their power? And what is our price for this betrayal? The passage of the Bosphorus and the release of our prisoners may have been anticipated by a few days, but even that is doubtful, for with a pistol at her head Turkey could have been forced to the instant surrender of both. And as the price of this paltry gain, if it be a gain, we have virtually condoned her unutterable villainies and have treated her with a favor denied to incomparably less guilty foes. Something must be done, and done at once, to set this matter right. The best thing would be to occupy the whole of the six provinces in order to assist the Turks in the maintenance of "order" and to see that it is not a Turkish order. In any case, we cannot leave the Turk in uncontrolled possession. A complete system of supervision, with provision for repatriation under our guarantee of what is left of the dispossessed population, is essential. America would be quick to assist, and the assistance of the American missionaries will be essential. Some dire discoveries will be made. Is it desired that the evidence of all that has gone on in these last terrible years should be covered up?

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A Bulgarian Socialist Declaration.

THE following declaration of the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Unified Socialists, the principal sections of which were published in *La France Libre* on October 3, illustrates the attitude of the party towards Bulgaria and the war at the time when Bulgaria asked for an armistice.

The Unified Democratic party believes it to be its duty to declare:

1. That it supports very energetically the proposition of armistice and peace made by the Government, in insisting upon a reasonable settlement of the Bulgarian war;

2. That it condemns all anarchy, whatever its source, and deems it particularly necessary, at this time, to safeguard the constitutional guarantees in this country, a territory in which conflicts dangerous to Bulgarian independence and the work of peace are to be avoided;

3. It calls upon the army to be united and to maintain its *esprit de corps,* as the only way by which it can guard like a sentinel Bulgarian independence;

4. It invites the whole Bulgarian nation to support the work of peace and to safeguard the constitutional guarantees of the country.

The League of Nations

THE *Westminster Gazette* (London) concludes a leading article entitled "The Opening of the Future," in its issue of November 4, with an appeal for the establishment of a league of nations.

The new Europe, the Europe of the league of nations, about which Mr. Asquith spoke so wisely and eloquently in his speech at Cupar on Saturday, is what is chiefly in our minds. There are, as we all know, difficulties and complexities about that, but we rely, as Mr. Asquith said, on the great combined coercion of physical, moral, and material causes, which will be applied to all the nations after the war, to make it the one and only practical solution of the world problem. When the alternatives to it are fully realized, the enormous cost of keeping the world in arms, the threat to civilization if war is to continue, the extreme probability that this war, horrible as it has been, will be only a pale image of the next if a few years more are given to the development of scientific weapons—when we consider all this, then, whatever the difficulties, we shall know that it is imperative to overcome them. It is impossible that humankind should be so lacking in sense as either to expose itself to the repetition of this calamity on a great scale or to put itself under the necessity of insuring against this calamity by preparations for war which will exhaust its energies and resources in time of peace. British Liberals can do nothing better than follow Mr. Asquith and Lord Grey in developing this doctrine and insisting that it shall be acknowledged as the chief of all war-aims. While the Governments are absorbed in carrying on the war or arranging the terms of armistice, it is the business of all men in authority, who are not so occupied, to keep the broad outline of the league of nations to the fore and to insist that it shall not be swamped in the territorial or material details of the settlement.

Lord Northcliffe, we notice with satisfaction, is also among the prophets. He has this morning issued *urbi et orbi,* to the whole British Empire, to the Allies, the neutrals, and even to the enemy, a manifesto on war and peace, which, since it goes out from the Minister of Propaganda in Enemy Countries, has a pontifical, if not actually an official, authority. It is an unconventional proceeding, and a less confident man might have felt some qualms about dogmatizing on some of the points of detail which are handled in this document. But let us admit at once that we are pleasurably surprised at the general result. Lord Northcliffe says a great many things about the future of the world and the league of nations and the position of Germany in the coming times which are full of good sense, and which would have exposed any one else to the violent remonstrances of his own journals. Unless we are greatly mistaken, he will have an account to settle with some other journals which have not had time to consider this new orientation. Lord Northcliffe's journals are always saying—and quite rightly—that we need guarantees of German repentance, and he must not be surprised if some guarantees are asked of him also. Let him, to begin with, get all his newspapers into line about the new doctrine and set them to work about the positive need of disarming the world, and the war is over.

A NEW monthly magazine, the *Adriatic Review,* the first number of which appeared in September, is devoted to the interests of Albania. The review, edited by the Rev. Fan S. Noli, is published at Boston by the Pan-Albanian Federation of America. The contents include both original articles and reprints.

Notes

IN order to prevent a disastrous glutting of the labor market following the industrial demobilization of women workers, General Booth of the Salvation Army is reported to have "induced the authorities to give substantial support" to a scheme for the after-war emigration of women to the overseas Dominions. The scheme is an extension of similar work undertaken by the Salvation Army on a smaller scale before the war. To meet the enlarged plans now necessary, some £72,000 has already been collected. Agents of the Salvation Army Migration Department have been carrying on investigations in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa to determine the opportunities for women settlers in those Dominions.

AN effort has been made to coördinate the activities of the Ministry of Food in Great Britain and those of other Government departments and commissions by the appointment of a Food Council, the members of which are also in several cases members of the Ministry. Questions of imports and international relations will be dealt with by Sir John Field Beale, who will represent Great Britain on the Inter-Allied Committee of Representatives, of which he is the chairman. Sir Alan Anderson will direct the joint operations of the wheat and sugar commissions and the Ministry of Food and will also sit on the Inter-Allied Committee. Mr. E. F. Wise will have charge of general questions of agricultural policy and act as chairman of the Joint Officials Committee of the Ministry of Food and the Agricultural Department. Other members of the Council have been assigned to various administrative tasks.

A CAREFULLY expurgated account of the proceedings of the British Imperial Conference June 12-July 26, has recently been published as a bluebook. A preliminary note to the report explains that much matter was omitted on account of its "highly confidential character," and that "other parts, though not so confidential in their nature, were intermingled with matter which . . . must for the present be kept confidential." The London *Times,* in commenting editorially upon the publication, states that while the bluebook is voluminous, "much of the discussion which is thus reproduced was on points of comparatively minor importance."

THE important part which is being played by the French Chamber of Commerce for China in promoting commercial relations between the two countries is the subject of an article by M. Duboscq in the Paris *Temps* of October 15. China, it is pointed out, especially since the war, needs petrol, electrical and printing material, agricultural implements, woolen and cotton goods, and above all machinery. The majority of French merchants in China, however, have been concerned exclusively with exportation, with the result that importation from France has been neglected. Germany, on the contrary, has maintained a firm hold on Chinese markets, which may become stronger after the war, for the reason that the economic barriers which will be found in other countries will probably not be raised in China. To combat the industrial Germanization of China, M. Duboscq urges that the railway claims which France had in China before the war should be developed, and that the Frenchmen sent out for that purpose should study the resources of the country and report upon such of its needs as France can supply.

AT a recent meeting of the Industrial and Commercial Federation of France, the suggestion of an economic union of the Allied nations was endorsed. The presidents of the American, British, Italian, Belgian, and Franco-Serbian Chambers of Commerce in Paris attended the meeting, and André LeBon, president of the Federation and former Minister of Commerce, made the principal address. M. LeBon advocated the establishment of a system of preferential treatment among the Allies in order to avoid the menace of German commerce, and the placing of Germany economically "under the wardship of the Allies."

THE Socialist group in the French Chamber of Deputies is reported to have demanded an immediate general election on issues arising from the conclusion of hostilities. The Socialists also ask that the administration of affairs under military law be ended, that questions of industrial reorganization be taken up with the Central Labor Federation, and that representatives of the working class be present at the peace conference. The same resolutions call for an international labor and Socialist conference to be held during the peace negotiations. On November 22, in response to a similar request from a delegation of French Socialists, Premier Clemenceau promised to refer the questions of working-class representation and an international Socialist conference to the Cabinet and to the Allied Governments.

THE private conference of the Italian Socialist party, held at Rome early in September, seems to have resulted in an overwhelming victory for the extreme revolutionary section. From

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figures which have now come to hand it appears that a resolution was adopted, by a vote of 14,005, condemning the Parliamentary Group for failing to oppose energetically the prosecution of the war, and calling upon them to conform strictly to the will of the party. A resolution proposed by the Moderates, declaring that the Socialist party should not obstruct the Government in its effort to carry the war to a successful conclusion, received only 2,505 votes, while the vote of the Centralist Intransigents was 2,507. The figures given represent the party membership as voted by the delegates to the conference.

AN interesting account of the new Republic of Koritza, set up in 1916 by French authority within the limits of Albania, is given by a correspondent of the London *Times*. When, in the fall of 1916, the forces of General Sarrail, moving northwest from Salonica, occupied Koritza and the region near Lake Malik, Koritza and the administrative district of which it was the centre, recognized by the treaty of Bucharest as a part of Albania, was proclaimed an autonomous Albanian State under the protection of the Allies. As such it has continued to be governed by a mixed council of Mohammedans and Christians, and has a flag and a postal system of its own.

ACCORDING to M. Buza, the Hungarian Minister of Agriculture, who made a speech on the subject in the Hungarian Lower House on November 5, the main principle of the proposed land reform in Hungary is that the soil "shall belong to those who cultivate it." The state "will expropriate the greater part of the land in the possession of churches, communes, and financial institutions, and will form from them peasant holdings." Entailed estates, however, will be excluded.

A POLISH Political Federation, comprising representatives of three sections of Polish political opinion—conservative, democratic, and Socialist—has lately been formed in Switzerland. According to the *Journal de Genève,* the Federation has adopted the following principles as the bases of its action: "1. The only solution of the Polish question is the creation of an unified and absolutely independent Poland, possessing a seaboard of its own and Dantzig. 2. Energetic collaboration of Poland with the nations fighting for right and justice. 3. Recognition of the self-determining right of nations. 4. Recognition of this right with regard to the nations occupying Lithuanian and Ruthenian territory."

THE election of Ignace Daszinski to the presidency of the new Polish Republic will be a blow to the reactionary and clerical elements among Polish nationalists. For many years Daszinski has been active in the Socialist movement in both Austria and Germany. During his early years he lived for a time in Paris, and later through the help of friends studied at the University of Zürich. He edited a Polish newspaper, the *Workmen's News,* in Berlin until he was forced to leave the country. In 1891 he organized the Polish-Galician Socialist party in Cracow and was later imprisoned by the Austrian Government. Since 1896 he has been a member of the Austrian Parliament. On the one occasion when he stood for election from a district other than Cracow he was chosen in Silesia, the regular candidate withdrawing in his favor. In the Reichsrat he has consistently worked for the independence of the suppressed nationalities of Austria-Hungary.

A MEMORANDUM has been filed with the Entente Powers by Miran Sevasly, president of the Armenian National Union of America, protesting against Clause 24 of the Turkish armistice, which provides that "In case of disorder in the six Armenian vilayets, the Allies reserve to themselves the right to occupy any part of them." The Union urges the "necessity of introducing safeguards during the armistice period of a nature to protect the Armenian population in the six provinces and Cicilia, by intrusting their occupation under the Allied command to the Armenian troops in the Trans-Caucasus and Palestine." The memorandum protests also against the continuance of Turkish troops in any part of Armenia.

NOW that the Turkish power in Mesopotamia has been overthrown, the project of a railway connecting the Mediterranean and the Euphrates has been revived in England. Victor L. Trumper, who contributes an article on the subject to *The Near East* (London) of October 25, points out that the engineering difficulties are not great. From the Mediterranean coast, at the mouth of the Orontes, to the River Euphrates is a distance of 130 miles, only forty miles of which is at an altitude of more than 1,000 feet above sea level. Neither tunnels nor heavy gradients would be necessary. About 3,300 miles of water transport would be saved between London and Mosul, and the Suez Canal dues would, of course, be eliminated.

THE following biographical sketch of Tschaikovsky, head of the Supreme Administration of the Northern Territory established at Archangel in August, is given in the November 1 issue of the *Daily Review of the Foreign Press,* published by the British War Office: "Nikolai Vassilovitch Tschaikovsky was born in 1850 in the province of Vyatka. His parents were nobles and in comfortable circumstances. Tschaikovsky was destined for the teaching profession. He studied chemistry at the University of Petrograd under Mendeleyev. In 1869, while still a student, he formed the 'Tschaikovsky Circle,' whose members aimed at the education of the peasants. His political activities resulted in his arrest and he was condemned to exile in Siberia. He escaped from prison and fled from Russia in 1875. He was in England for a short time, and in 1878 went to the United States, where he joined the Russian Socialist colony at Cedar in Philadelphia(?) . He afterwards worked in shipyards and later joined the Shaker colony at Mount Morris. On leaving America, Tschaikovsky settled in England, where he lived twenty years. He was active in collecting funds for the relief of political prisoners and exiles in Russia. In November, 1905, an amnesty gave him the right to return to Russia. After being in Russia for some time he was arrested on a charge of conspiring to overthrow the existing régime, and confined in the Cross prison and in the fortress at Petrograd from December, 1907, to October, 1908. A petition for his release, sent to Count Benkendorf, was signed by eleven Anglican bishops and forty members of Parliament. A British petition to Stolypin was signed by a number of distinguished persons, and another petition was signed by a number of French men of letters, including Anatole France. The Russian authorities finally consented to liberate him on bail, and the sum of £3,000 was raised for this purpose by friends in England. He was tried in March, 1910, together with Catharine Breshko-Breshkovskaya, and was acquitted. After visiting England he returned to Russia, where he has since resided."

A RUSSO-JAPANESE corporation has just been formed at Tokio for the purpose of developing the industrial and commercial resources of Siberia. The Japanese incorporators include the Bank of Chosen, the Oriental Development Company, and the Sino-Japanese Industrial Company, while Russia is represented by twelve "wealthy residents" of Siberia. The capital, which is to be divided equally between the Russian and Japanese shareholders, is to be fixed at from 10,000,000 to 20,000,000 rubles, and the main office is expected to be at Harbin.

AN official report from the Argentine Legation at London, stating that the commercial treaties containing a "most favored nation" clause would be denounced by Great Britain after the war, has occasioned some anxiety in business circles in Argentina and evoked a variety of comments from the press. The *Prensa* inclines to the belief that Great Britain will not abandon its "liberal traditions." The *Nacion,* on the other hand, thinks that neutral countries like Argentina will occupy a subordinate position, so far as the interests of the Entente are concerned, during the period of reconstruction, and that Argentina may be compelled to look for new markets for her products, or even to re-establish closer relations with the rivals of the Entente than existed before the war.

THERE has been a general relaxation of the censorship throughout Europe and in the United States. As early as October 15 Spain restored the constitutional guarantee of free expression of opinion in the press by Spanish subjects. It was announced at the same time that immediate steps would be taken for the entire suppression of the censorship. A Vienna dispatch of October 28 stated that the section of the Austrian press law prescribing that all matter intended for publication be first submitted to the censor had been rescinded. Germany followed on November 1 with the abolition of the "political department" at Grand Headquarters, as well as of the censorship throughout the Empire. A Reuter dispatch of November 5 announced that Alsace-Lorraine had been placed on the same level as the rest of Germany with regard to the censorship. In the Allied countries the censorship restrictions have been removed more cautiously. The ban on British shipping news was lifted on November 15. By royal decree in Italy, on November 20, the press censorship was limited to "military news, false reports likely to alarm the public, reports of troubled international relations, and matter which, in itself, is basis for prosecution." On November 12 restrictions on shipping news in the United States were lifted by Secretary Daniels, who announced that news of arrivals and departures might thereafter be published. Two days later a statement was issued by the Committee on Public Information to the effect that the voluntary press censorship was at an end; while, on the following day, the Government Censorship Board announced the discontinuance of the press censorship in connection with cables, mails, and telegraph lines. On November 16 the chief cable censor gave notice that restrictions on merchant shipping cables had been removed; but this was modified on the same day by a statement from the Censorship Board that only press restrictions had been discontinued, while other forms of censorship remained in force. A further modification of earlier reports, made public by the Navy Department on November 20, forbade publication of news regarding the movement of ships operated by the Government or the Shipping Board, as well as of news of the movements of British vessels except when authorized.

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